DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 170 485 CE 020 013

AUTHOR	Mangum, Garth; Walsh, John
TITLE	Employment and Training Programs for Youth: What Works Best for Whom?
INSTITUTION	National Council on Employment Policy (DOL), Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY	Employment and Training Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C. Office of Youth Programs.
PUB DATE	May 78
GRANT	DL-81-11-71-09
NOTE	215p.; Not available in hard copy due to light print in the original document
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Disadvantaged Youth; *Employment Programs; Employment Statistics; Evaluation Criteria; *Job Training; Minority Groups; Program Administration; *Program Design; *Program Effectiveness; Program Evaluation; Vocational Counseling; *Youth Employment; *Youth Programs

ABSTRACT

Using a synthesis of available literature written between 1960 and 1977, the study reported in this document focuses on the assessment of (1) employment and training services for youth; (2) techniques which have been used in providing employment and training services to youth; (3) administrative practices which have either enhanced or vitiated employment and training services for youth; and (4) services designed for specific target groups, such as minority youth or the handicapped. This study is divided into ten chapters. Chapter 1 explores the realism of the criteria which are often applied to the evaluation of youth programs. Chapter two contains an analysis of youth unemployment statistics and a description of the modern milieu in which employment and training programs for youth are conducted. Chapter three discusses techniques used by program administrators to reach certain target groups and the techniques used in their needs. Chapter 4 considers the strategy of subsidized employment as the major attempt to alleviate youth unemployment. In-school programs, both training and employment, are covered in chapter 5. Chapter 6 covers three types of on-the-job training. The effectiveness of employment and personal counseling and various techniques for supplying placement services are discussed in chapters 7 and 8, respectively. Chapter 9 focuses on what works for specific target populations, and chapter 10 summarizes the implications of the study's findings for future policy with respect to employment and training programs for youth. Each of the major component chapters (3-8) concludes with a section on program design. (EM)

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EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR YOUTH: WHAT WORKS BEST FOR WHOM?

By:

Garth Mangum

John Walsh

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A Report to the
Office of Youth Programs
Employment and Training Administration
U.S. Department of Labor

From the:

National Council on Employment Policy

May 1978

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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The material in this publication was prepared under Grant No.81-11-71-09 from the United States Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, under the authority of Title III, Part B, of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973. Researchers undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment. Therefore, points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent the official policy or position of the United States Department of Labor.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The preparation of this monograph involved the review of a large amount of literature and personal and telephone interviews with federal, state and local officials. Without the help of Russell E. Smith, who performed much of the original research -- including the literature search, the monograph could not have been completed within the time allotted for its preparation. Mr. Smith performed his work diligently and with exceptional thoroughness.

The authors would also like to express their appreciation to Edward F. Dement and Miriam Johnson who prepared special papers on CETA and Employment Service activities, respectively, for inclusion in the monograph. Both papers were comprehensive and of high quality.

Finally, thanks is due to all respondents who were interviewed by Mr. Smith and the authors during the research phase of the project. Among those who deserve special mention are Judah Drob of the Labor Department's Employment and Training Administration, who helped us locate valuable evaluation literature; Dorothy Shuler of HEW's Office of Education, who provided us with recent materials on cooperative education; and Jo Pitcher of the Labor Department's Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy, Evaluation and Research. Others who gave freely of their time were J. Fred Wentzell, National Alliance of Businessmen, and Donald Eberly and Art Wechsler of ACTION. All helped in both identifying literature and clarifying issues related to the transitional problems of youth.

As always, only the authors are accountable for the results.

PREFACE

The Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 (YEDPA) is a complicated piece of legislation which has at least two overall purposes: (1) to create jobs for unemployed and underemployed youth; and (2) to test a wide variety of approaches to assist economically disadvantaged and other youth to complete high school and enter the world of work. These two purposes, however, are not mutually exclusive; the Act's job creation components are intended to be integral parts of the "knowledge development" process. Thus, CETA prime sponsors, the local administrators of the Act, are expected to design programs which do more than merely create jobs or training opportunities for CETA enrollees between the ages of 16 and 21; they are also expected to build in research components which, in turn, will increase public understanding of the barriers which cause youth unemployment and the types of programs which are best suited to alleviating specific barriers.

The assumption underlying the Act is that despite over 17 years of public experimentation with employment and training programs for youth, our knowledge of what works best for whom is at best sketchy and at worst non-existent. Yet, with the exception of the Act's provisions which are strictly research in nature, every type of program called for by the Act (community improvement and conservation work and various types of employment and training programs) has been tried before. A small library could be stocked with policy and position papers, evaluations, longitudinal studies and other materials written about federal employment and training programs for youth. With several notable exceptions, however, most of this literature concerns specific legislative acts, or categorical programs, rather than the components of employment and training programs for youth. Perhaps the two most useful exceptions to this general rule are Regis Walther's Analysis and Synthesis of DOL Experience in Youth

Transition to Work Programs, (1976) and Robert Taggart's "Employment and Training Programs for Youth," a chapter in the National Commission for Manpower Policy's publication From School to Work: Improving the Transition, (1976).

Both of these publications discuss the effectiveness of youth employment and training programs by component. Neither was intended to be a systematic review of existing youth literature and program evaluations. Such a review would include the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and its amendments, apprenticeship, all of the categorical employment and training programs funded since 1961, and the youth experience to date under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), seeking to determine the effectiveness of specific strategies for alleviating youth unemployment problems, or for improving the transition from school to work.

The purposes of this project are to assess:

(1) What is known about the relative effectiveness of various employment and training services for youth, such as outreach and assessment, skill training, on-the-job training, work experience, remedial education, placement, counseling, and subsidized employment.

(2) The relative effectiveness of the various techniques which have been used in providing employment and training services to youth.

(3) Administrative practices which have either enhanced or vitiated employment and training services for youth.

(4) Which services have proven most and least effective for specific target groups, e.g., minority youth, the handicapped, the disadvantaged, youth who are deficient in basic education skills, and so forth.

The rationale behind the study is that CETA prime sponsors, program agents, program operators, and the schools, who are responsible for implementing YEDPA, should be provided with a summary of past experience in dealing with the employment problems of youth in order to both incorporate the best of what has gone before and to avoid repeating past mistakes.

CONTENT AND COMPONENTS OF EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

Past experience of youth employment and training programs must be assessed in the perspective of what services have been

available and are possible. Basically, all employment and training programs provide some combination of:

(1) Subsidized employment: the use of public funds to create jobs for the unemployed.

(2) Employability development services: the provision of a host of services designed to overcome personal barriers to employment.

(3) Income maintenance: the use of public funds to provide stipends or allowances to individuals enrolled in employment and training programs.

These can be tailored for specific target populations, can include one or more subcomponents, and can incorporate a wide variety of program and administrative techniques. But setting aside all the frills, employment and training programs consist purely and simply of these three categories.

The list of specific services provided within these broader categories has changed little since the day they emerged from the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) and the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) in the 1960s:

(1) Outreach and assessment: outreach involves techniques designed to find and enroll individuals who would not ordinarily apply for enrollment; assessment involves techniques designed to identify the kinds of employment and training services needed by individual enrollees.

(2) Subsidized public employment: the creation of jobs in public agencies and private, non-profit organizations, most of which involve maintenance, community improvement, conservation, and the expanded delivery of social services:

   (a) Work experience: jobs designed to provide enrollees with good work habits, experience in working with others, and performing in a supervised situation.

   (b) Public service employment: jobs which are fully compatible and integrated with an agency's regular operations, usually positions which otherwise could not be funded because of budget stringencies.

(3) Subsidized private employment: either through wage subsidies, payment for the added "training" costs of accepting less prepared workers or tax offsets, persuading private employers to hire workers they might otherwise have rejected.

(4) Training: the provision of institutional or on-the-job training in specific or general occupational areas:

(a) Institutional training: the provision of classroom training in one of the following:

1. Orientation: courses which introduce enrollees to the "world of work," and which often involve what Walther describes as "coping skills," or "those competencies which permit the individual to function within formal or informal social groups. Included are developing and executing plans, working with others, controlling impulses, processing and interpreting information, communicating, problem solving, and working within an authority structure."

2. Pre-vocational training: courses designed to help enrollees explore their vocational skills, aptitudes and interests, generally as a preliminary step to skills training.

3. Skills training: training in specific occupations or general occupational categories.

4. Remedial education: courses designed to upgrade the basic education skills (reading, writing and math) of enrollees.

(b) On-the-job training: training provided on the job, either with or without a classroom training component:

1. Pure OJT: enrollees in training on either subsidized or non-subsidized jobs, including jobs in the private sector. With respect to private sector jobs, public funds are used to reimburse employers for "training" and other incidental costs.

2. Work-education: various combinations of on-the-job and classroom training:

a. Cooperative education: programs of vocational education for in-school students which are under the direction of a single "coordinator." Students receive instruction through jointly

planned and supervised agreements between schools and employers, alternating classroom instruction with on-the-job experience.

b. Work study: programs of vocational education for in-school students which provide employment opportunities for needy students in public agencies (including the schools) and private, non-profit organizations.

c. Coupled OJT: programs of on-the-job training for out-of-school youth and adults which is coupled with some form of institutional or classroom training.

(5) Counseling: the provision of employment and/or personal guidance to enrollees in either an individualized or group setting.

(6) Supportive services: the provision of such services as medical and dental care, child care, transportation assistance, and legal aid to support enrollee participation in employment and training programs.

(7) Placement services: the provision of job matching services, including job search training and job development, either as separate components for the "job ready" who do not participate in any other program components, or for the completers of employment and training programs.

These are the basic components of employment and training programs available to program administrators to alleviate youth unemployment problems and aid the transition from dependency to independent labor force status. Other components such as motivational training and relocation programs have been tried on a limited scale, but are perhaps best considered in conjunction with counseling, supportive and placement services. In addition in recent years, a good deal of attention has been given to "career education" and "career exploration," primarily for in-school students, but these, too, are new, have limited experience, and can be discussed in conjunction with classroom and on-the-job training.

This study focuses on an assessment of these strategies, based on a search of the existing literature on employment and training programs for youth. However, because a substantial percentage of the enrollees in all employment and training programs have been youth between the ages of 16 to 21, the attempt was also made to isolate youth performance in programs not limited to youth.

METHODOLOGY

Although the focus of this study is on the service components of employment and training programs for youth, the data was accumulated by "categorical program" because that is the form in which it has been gathered. Therefore, literature pertaining to the following was identified and reviewed:

(1) Manpower Development and Training Act:

- (a) Early research and demonstration projects
- (b) Projects especially for youth
- (c) Youth participation in regular MDTA projects

(2) Vocational Education Act:

- (a) Cooperative Education Programs (Part G)
- (b) Work Study Programs (Part H)
- (c) Programs for the Disadvantaged Under Part B
- (d) Programs for the Handicapped Under Part B
- (e) Regular Vocational Education Programs

(3) Programs First Authorized Under Economic Opportunity Act (EOA):

- (a) Neighborhood Youth Corps
- (b) Job Corps
- (c) Operation Mainstream
- (d) New Careers
- (e) Community Action Programs for Youth

(4) Recent Legislation:

- (a) Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA)
- (b) Youth Conservation Corps

(5) Youth Participation in Apprenticeship Programs

(6) National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) Programs

(7) Employment Service Youth Programs

(8) Other:

(a) Concentrated Employment Program

(b) Work Incentive Program (WIN)

(c) The Military

Most of the research was conducted in-house, but with respect to recent legislation, employment service programs, and youth participation in apprenticeship, papers were commissioned by experts in the three fields. The individual program results were then synthesized into a component-by-component report summarizing what is currently known of the effectiveness of service functions on behalf of youthful employment and training program clients.

The Literature Search

The literature search was conducted using several overlapping methods simultaneously. Books and other materials were sought through Books in Print and in libraries and private collections in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and Salt Lake City.

Among unpublished materials, the major source was the collected body of government contract research and program evaluations. The original means of identifying this material was through a computer search of the National Technical Information Service (NTIS) and ERIC data bases. The NTIS base, which was the most fruitful, was then checked against the late arriving NTIS bibliography, "Youth Programs." For all practical purposes, they were equally complete, with one serving as a crosscheck against the other.

Interviews were conducted with representatives of the Department of Labor Office of Research and Development and Employment and Training Administration, HEW's Office of Policy, Budgeting and Evaluation, the Community Services Administration, ACTION, and the national office of the National Alliance of Businessmen. In California individuals associated with the Employment Studies Program at San Francisco State University and the Division of Employment Data and Research of the California Employment Development Department (Employment Service) were consulted.

The interviews were especially helpful in that they helped fill in gaps of the more formal literature search. In addition, the opinions of professionals working in the field helped guide us to the more important documents, pointed out the boundaries of relevant literature, and provided a conceptual focus for the final analysis. The above was especially

true of interviews with national office Department of Labor and Office of Education personnel.

The remaining Washington interviews had a somewhat different character, primarily because we were asking for materials that did not exist. For example, at ACTION we were told that youth do not usually serve as Peace Corps or VISTA volunteers, although VISTA volunteers, by means of community orientation programs, sometimes provide pre-employment, referral and supportive services. We were told by NAB officials that although several NAB programs were directed toward youth and a significant number of youth have been enrolled in regular programs, there have been no formal evaluations of the effectiveness of NAB programs for youth. Representatives of the Community Services Administration said that while youth employment services were sometimes components of overall community action programs, most of the records and files have either been lost or misplaced, and no formal evaluation of community action programs for youth exists.

Several overview sources and reviews were especially helpful in conducting the literature search and in synthesizing the material. Perry's comprehensive survey, The Impact of Government Manpower Programs (1975), reviews virtually all previous evaluations of Labor Department programs, with special attention on their impact on women and minorities. To the extent that such programs as the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps are youth programs, the Perry review was helpful.

The sequence of "pull together" papers on youth employment and training programs began with Breakthrough for Disadvantaged Youth (1969) which, as a result of Operation Retrieval, brought together the experience of MDTA experimental and demonstration projects of the early 1960s. Another pertinent report is Federal Youth Programs: A Discussion Paper, by Regelson, et al (1972), prepared by the Office of Economic Opportunity for the Office of Management and Budget, which reviews, compares and evaluates the various youth programs, including program approaches, where the data permits.

More recent "pull together" papers are the aforementioned "Employment and Training Programs for Youth" by Taggart (1975) and Walther's 1976 synthesis of youth programs.

All in all, over 300 publications, reports and position papers were reviewed. As might be expected, the amount of available literature varied widely from categorical program to program and from component to component. There is a dearth of evaluative literature with regard to CETA programs in general and CETA youth programs in particular. Evaluative materials regarding the Youth Conservation Corps are also in short supply, whereas material regarding MDTA institutional

training, Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and vocational education programs are not only voluminous but also often contradictory in nature.

As might be expected, with respect to service components, the majority of the literature deals with institutional training and work experience programs, although most MDTA literature, with the exception of experimental and demonstration projects, does not deal specifically with youth. Literature regarding the effectiveness of on-the-job training is scarce, as is materials regarding outreach and assessment. Counseling is well covered, at least as it pertains to youth programs, and in recent years the amount of literature on placement services has been on the increase. The substantial volume of literature on military manpower is limited in its identification of the employment and training contributions of the Armed Forces. Nevertheless, that which was relevant has been summarized.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

The material is organized into ten chapters: (1) Criteria for Program Evaluation, (2) Youth Unemployment in Perspective, (3) Outreach and Assessment, (4) Subsidized Employment, (5) Institutional Training, (6) On-the-Job Training, (7) Counseling and Supportive Services, (8) Placement Services, (9) The "For Whom" Factor, and (10) Policy Considerations.

Chapter 1 explores the realism of the criteria which are often applied to the evaluation of youth programs. Chapter 2 is also a background chapter. It not only contains an analysis of youth unemployment statistics, but also a description of the modern milieu in which employment and training programs for youth are conducted. Chapter 3 discusses techniques used by program administrators to reach certain target groups, e.g., the "hard core disadvantaged," and the techniques employed for assessing their needs. The material in Chapter 4 is limited to subsidized employment programs for out-of-school youth. In-school programs, both training and employment, are covered in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 covers on-the-job training and is divided into three subsections -- Pure OJT, Work Education, and the Role of the Armed Forces. The effectiveness of employment and personal counseling (both individual and group) and various techniques for supplying placement services are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 respectively. Chapter 9 zeros in on what works for specific target populations. Chapter 10 summarizes the implications of the study's findings to future policy with respect to employment and training programs for youth. Each of the major component chapters (3 through 8) concludes with a section on program design, summarizing lessons from the literature on successful implementation.

This report is a synthesis of available literature written between 1960 and 1977. A complete bibliography of the literature reviewed accompanies the report. Only sources directly quoted are cited in the text, and they refer to items in the bibliography.

CHAPTER 1

CRITERIA FOR PROGRAM EVALUATION

It is ironic that after 17 years of experimentation with employment and training programs for youth Congress found it necessary to legislate activities and programs aimed at discovering the causes of youth unemployment and its potential solutions. It seems fair to ask whether the assumptions upon which past youth programs were based were faulty, or whether the programs themselves were poorly designed or mismanaged. Yet, aside from the research provisions of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA), the programs authorized by the Act are the same as those which have been implemented over the past 17 years -- work experience on community improvement and conservation projects, institutional and on-the-job training, counseling, placement and other kinds of supportive services. The scale of activities authorized by YEDPA is a good deal smaller than the scale of youth activities already being carried out under CETA and under the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and its subsequent amendments. Congress undoubtedly hoped that programs initiated under YEDPA would be innovative and would unearth heretofore untried techniques, but one of the criticisms of past programs has been that they have been almost exclusively experimental. Experiment has been piled upon experiment, but a concerted, overall policy for treating youth unemployment and transitional problems has never emerged.

For example, participants in a 1966 conference sponsored by the National Child Labor Committee, expressed concern over "temporary crash" programs for youth (the Committee, 1966). Ten years later, the Committee again assembled a noted panel of youth experts to review the youth programming of the past decade, concluding that the nation's programmatic efforts in 1976 were still decidedly crash, temporary and superficial (the Committee, 1976). The Committee also concluded that the

return to billions of dollars of public expenditures on youth employment and training programs along with vast amounts of talent, time, effort and energy, had been "inauspicious." Youth unemployment rates have continued to rise, and youthful high school graduates and dropouts continue to have difficulties in obtaining entry level jobs, other than those which are reserved specifically for youth. In part, the modesty of result may be inherent in the intransigence of youth unemployment, but the problem may equally rest in lack of realism in evaluative criteria as well as in the limitations of employment and training programs. Because the evaluative criteria used may have a great deal of bearing on the interpretation of past literature regarding youth employment and training programs, they are reviewed in this chapter. The realities of youth employment are explored in Chapter 2.

UNREALISTIC CRITERIA FOR PROGRAM EVALUATION

In reviewing the available literature, it soon became clear that programs have often been judged on the basis of unproven assumptions regarding the efficacy of employment and training programs, and that the emphasis for program evaluations has changed erratically throughout the years. The early MDTA program was intended primarily for non-disadvantaged heads of households with considerable labor market experience whose skills had in some way become obsolete. When economic conditions improved and the original target population began to find jobs on their own, the emphasis shifted to the "disadvantaged." When the Economic Opportunity Act was passed in the mid-sixties, the target population became not just the disadvantaged, but something called the "hard core" disadvantaged. With the passing of the hectic sixties, the emphasis remained with the disadvantaged, but the term was given a much broader interpretation, and the term "hard core" fell into gradual disuse.

The approach to employment and training program strategies also shifted erratically throughout the years. Whether the root cause of labor market disadvantage was behavioral or institutional and therefore whether policies should try to change people or reform institutions was never decided, and programs fluctuated erratically between those goals. In the beginning, the key strategy was institutional training. Within two years, on-the-job training became the in program, and when the "war on poverty" was launched, work experience and complicated career ladder programs such as New careers were emphasized. Later the concept of comprehensive employment and training services became the vogue. A nationwide Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) was initiated which was designed to provide comprehensive services for the poor and unemployed in ghetto areas. This was followed by the Work Incentive Program

(WIN) to provide similar services for welfare recipients. In the 1970s, subsidized employment took center stage, and with the passage of CETA in 1973, decentralized and decategorized programs to be designed at the local level replaced all previous strategies. Then, with the public service employment titles and administrative developments within CETA and with the passage of YEDPA in 1977, there appeared to be a return to at least partial recategorization (Snedeker and Snedeker, 1978).

These shifts and turns have had a profound effect on the literature of employment and training programs. Very often in the mid-1960s a program could be judged a failure if it failed to enroll the hard core disadvantaged. Programs, regardless of their results, were criticized for "creaming" or enrolling only the best of the disadvantaged. Even where evaluations stressed outcomes, the major focus was on whether the overall strategy was effective, rather than on the effectiveness of specific program components. The emergence of the dual labor market theory led to wholesale condemnation of employment and training programs for preparing enrollees for placement in the secondary labor market; low-paying, dead-end jobs which most enrollees could obtain without program enrollment (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). Training and nonsubsidized employment programs were criticized for failing to effect a reduction in overall unemployment rates, regardless of the state of national and local economies.

The literature of youth employment and training programs is colored by assessments of this nature. Even where specific program components are considered, it is difficult to interpret the literature because varying criteria were used by different writers, often leading to conflicting conclusions. Four issues stand out in bold relief, issues which must be faced in considering future policy regarding educational, training and employment programs for youth:

Soft versus Hard Core

The term "hard core disadvantaged" first came into use in connection with MDTA experimental and demonstration programs. It was never given an essential definition, but it generally referred to youth and adults who would not enroll in programs on their own initiative and who suffered from severe personal problems, such as low educational attainment and achievement levels, arrest or conviction records, drug and alcohol use, lack of motivation, or anti-social behavior, or found alternative sources of income in an illegal or "irregular" economy. Programs were critized both for not enrolling the hard core and for not meeting the enrollees' needs when successful in enrolling the hard core. Two questions arise:

(1) The existence of hard core disadvantaged youth implies the existence of "soft core" disadvantaged. The difference between the two appears to be that the latter are motivated to pursue betterment of their condition in the labor market, whereas the former are not. Since both groups are poor, which should be given priority for enrollment in employment and training programs? The answer to this question pretty much depends on the answer to the next question.

(2) Are the services available from manpower programs suitable for treating many of the problems associated with the hard core disadvantaged, e.g., drug addiction, alcoholism, anti-social behavior, personality disorders and so forth? Not all hard core disadvantaged suffer from such serious problems. Many merely lack the self-confidence, social skills to impress employers and influence fellow employees, are discouraged, lack motivation, are educationally retarded, or under negative pressures from their peers. But these, too, are deep-seated personal maladies.

The problem has been that all employment and training programs have been prescribed for all disadvantaged youth regardless of the external or personal barriers that prevent them from either labor market success or success in other aspects of life. The somewhat naive notion existed, especially in the middle sixties, that if what were then known as "manpower programs" were delivered in the "right way," the employment problems of youth (or adults for that matter) could be alleviated. The evidence seems to indicate that this notion not only carries with it built-in failure, but relieves educators and employment and training program administrators of one of their most essential responsibilities: to identify an actionable universe of need, establish priorities among groups within the universe, and design overall programs and specific components within programs that meet the needs of the individuals to be served and are realistic in labor market terms. Implicit in this responsibility is the need to recognize the limitations of transitional and employment and training programs, that the tools available to educators and employment and training program administrators are primarily suitable for treating economic barriers to employment, and are of extremely limited value in treating such social and personal problems as drug addiction, alcoholism, personality disorders and anti-social behavior.

The Actor Proof Program

A good deal of the evaluative literature on employment and training programs appeared to be searching for the "actor

proof" program, or programs, that were so well conceived and constructed that their effectiveness does not depend on the competence of the human beings who either operate them or participate in them. One Labor Department veteran put it this way: "Almost anything works if it is administered by inspired, hard working and competent people; on the other hand, nothing works if it is butchered by its administrators." At one point it was popular to blame program failure on the inability of program personnel to "relate with" the disadvantaged. When the pendulum swung the other way, program failure was often blamed on the tendency of program personnel to "over identify" with their clients (or "go native") and, as a consequence, give too little consideration to the demands of employers who, in the last analysis, would determine whether or not the clients obtained jobs.

With a few exceptions, neither the designers nor the evaluators of educational and employment and training programs have had experience in actually operating programs. If a program didn't work, the designer could always say "you didn't do it the right way," and a sympathetic evaluator could support that conclusion. A good deal of the literature reflects such subjective program appraisals. Evaluators may be correct when they blame the failures of programs or program components on the weaknesses of program personnel, but such criticism sheds very little light on the potential effectiveness of the programs or components themselves. It merely tells us that no program is actor proof.

The Question of "Meaningful" Jobs

Ever since the discovery of the dual labor market, educators and employment and training program administrators have been criticized for placing enrollees in "dead end" jobs, or low-paying jobs without formal career ladders -- jobs, according to the various authors, that they could have obtained without enrolling in any program. As a consequence, program administrators have avoided making placements in jobs that are susceptible to this criticism -- jobs that could be useful to their clients. Walther (1976) provides the best summary of this issue:

> The judgment of what work is 'meaningful' is highly subjective and there is virtually no limit to the types of activities which will be considered 'meaningful' by some people and scorned by others. Any work which has economic value must be valued by someone and should be given respect. In this connection it is most important that the manpower specialist not impose his values on his clients. People vary extensively in what they like to do and the conditions under which they like to work,

> and their options should not be reduced on the basis of someone else's approval of the work. The concept of the 'dead end' job is also highly subjective. If what is meant is that the job is not part of a formal career ladder, many jobs at varied skill levels qualify. Under this definition, the general practitioner in private medical practice is in a 'dead end' job because he will probably be doing very much the same thing at the end of his work career as he did at the beginning. If what is meant is that salary is too low in comparison to the general wage level, many ministers are in 'dead end' jobs. If what is meant is that the job does not permit upward mobility into different types of jobs, there is a misunderstanding of the dynamics of the labor market.
>
> Many minority and economically disadvantaged groups in the United States have started with the lowest level of job and moved up into higher status occupations. A recent example is the Cuban refugees in Miami, many of whom started in 'dead end' jobs and in a few years had made significant occupational progress. Manpower programs should help their clients use rather than avoid 'dead end' jobs. (Emphasis added)

The problem is that school and CETA youth programs are expected to accomplish more than is often possible. It is simply unrealistic to expect that high school graduates or employment and training program completers will always find employment with promotion opportunities and career ladders over the heads of the "working poor" and even those youth who have started at the bottom with or without the help of schools and other publicly funded programs. Walther concludes:

> Youth need to start somewhere to get experience with working and to build their reputations . . . The youth needs the ability to make the best choice among available opportunities at a particular point in time and then be able to make decisions which will advance him either within or outside the organization with which he is employed. The National Longitudinal Study data indicates that job mobility is an important method by which youth improve their job situation.

Unfortunately, much of the youth literature has been marred by the application of unrealistic evaluative criteria, such as the extent to which program completers are placed in "meaningful" jobs.

The Problem of Income Maintenance

The issue of coupling income maintenance with the provision of employment and training services has received scant attention in the literature of youth programs. Yet, there is clear evidence that the coupling of allowances with training and other services has had an adverse effect, however necessary they may be. The early Opportunity Industrialization Centers (OIC), a self-help program created mainly by blacks for blacks, rejected the idea of allowances. OIC's founder, the Reverend Leon Sullivan, contended that enrollees in training programs must be personally motivated to master the training offered if such programs were to be truly effective. The payment of allowances, he maintained, had a tendency to vitiate that motivation. Enrollees who enter a program mainly for allowances and create problems for both instructors and other enrollees because of their lack of interest in the training itself, are apt to drop out whenever their need for supplementary income is eliminated. Yet they fill limited program slots which might otherwise have gone to those motivated by the desire for training, a job and economic independence. OIC eventually had to change its policy regarding the payment of allowances because it could not compete with federal programs which offered them.

Until there is some national policy on income maintenance, it will probably be necessary for employment and training programs to offer stipends. But, the implications of this policy should be understood and, in the long run, consideration should be given to separating the availability for income maintenance from enrollment in employment and training programs.

LIMITATIONS OF EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

We are emerging from a 17 year period of experimentation, a period during which the hopes of government officials, students and enrollees and the general public were often raised unrealistically. If we are ever to forge a realistic educational and employment and training policy directed toward the transition of youth to adulthood, certain facts of life must be faced squarely:

(1) New entrants to the labor market must face higher levels of unemployment than those who are already integrated into the work force. The issue is what that ratio should be, not whether it should exist. Persistently high youth unemployment statistics do not necessarily mean that all youth, or even most youth, are having difficulties in making the transition from school to work. If youth programs are to be realistic, youth who are

having difficulties must be identified, their needs analyzed, and programs must be designed to meet those needs -- not all of which would necessarily involve services generally associated with employment and training programs.

(2) The options available to today's young people are a good deal broader than they have been in the past, and they include parental support, the receipt of various forms of income maintenance, extended education, and participation in the "irregular economy."

(3) The services available from educational and employment and training programs are not necessarily suitable for treating the problems of all youth. Failure to recognize this fact not only weakens existing programs, but probably also delays the initiation of other programs for the alleviation of non-economic barriers to youth employment.

(4) Neither remediation nor prevention can be purchased cheaply. No short-term skill training program or work experience can overcome in a few months a youth characterized by cultural disadvantages and disfunctional lifestyles.

(5) Neither educational nor employment and training programs should be expected to accomplish the impossible. The idea that all high school graduates and/or the completers of manpower programs should be placed in preferred jobs over the heads of others who have been struggling in the labor force for years should be put to rest. Students and enrollees should be taught how to use entry level jobs for their own advancement.

(6) As long as income maintenance is coupled with employment and training programming, there always will be problems in selecting truly motivated enrollees.

SUMMARY

The lessons of the past, as exemplified in the existing youth literature, have been obfuscated by the application of unrealistic evaluative criteria. This fact should be kept in mind in reviewing the materials contained in Chapters 3-4. The lessons are there, but because of conflicting conclusions based

primarily on untested assumptions and arbitrary placement of blame, they require interpretation. For this reason, much of the material that follows may be controversial. If this proves to be true, we can only hope that the controversy will help in airing vital issues regarding the transition of youth from school to work.

CHAPTER 2

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT IN PERSPECTIVE

To understand the congressional passage of YEDPA in 1977 and the emphasis on youth throughout the employment and training programs from 1962 through at least that latter year, it is appropriate to review some significant statistics as well as to explore the causes of youth unemployment.

YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT: BANE OR BOON

It was the 1976 unemployment rates of 16.9 percent for all teenagers and 37.1 percent for blacks of the same age which stirred up the sense of urgency leading to the passage of YEDPA. A rate of 43.3 percent unemployment for metropolitan poverty areas was the extreme of that trend with much higher rates for specific central cities and neighborhoods. (See Table 2.1) The 16 to 24 age group was nearly one-half of the total unemployed in 1976 compared to one-third in 1960. The unemployment was bad enough but added was the fact that black youngsters had labor force participation rates 20 percent below the 57.6 percent of white youths the same age, even though more of the former were out of school. Stated another way, only one out of four black teenagers had a job compared to one out of two for whites of the same age.

This black teenage labor force participation phenomenon is but an extreme case of the exceptional sensitivity of teenagers to economic conditions. During a period of declining employment, the male teenage labor force participation rate decreases by 3 percentage points with each 1 percentage point increase in the unemployment rate, while the decrease for female teenagers is even more pronounced. The result is an understatement of the number of frustrated would-be employees

Table 2-1

Unemployment Rates for Teenagers
in Poverty and Nonpoverty Areas, by Race
(1976)

Race	Total, United States		Metropolitan Areas		Nonmetropolitan Areas	
	Poverty Areas	Nonpoverty Areas	Poverty Areas	Nonpoverty Areas	Poverty Areas	Nonpoverty Areas
Total	24.1	17.9	33.2	18.6	18.6	16.0
Black	40.0	34.5	43.3	35.2	33.8	30.8
White	17.6	16.8	22.9	17.3	15.7	15.3

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, 1977 Employment and Training Report of the President.

since the number of teens leaving the labor force is greater than the number entering the unemployment rolls. As jobs become available, the opposite situation prevails.

All of this might be only of passing difficulty for each youth if unemployment as a teenager had no long term consequences. However, in tracking employment patterns of 1,500 young men and women, it was found that early labor market experiences are related to subsequent measures of labor market success (Adams, et al, 1978). Relating labor force status in the final year of this survey to earlier work experiences, it was found that those out of work and out of school as teenagers are far less likely to be among current labor force participants. For those currently in the labor force, the probability of being unemployed is much higher if the teenage period was spent both out of work and out of school. Assimilation into the labor force is extremely difficult for women and blacks who lack earlier work and school experience. An additional disadvantage to those who spend the earlier time period out of school and out of work is that current earnings for employment are approximately half the average for their race and sex cohorts.

But these horror statistics do not comprise the whole picture. For perspective, it is necessary to keep in mind that 1976 was a year of persisting high unemployment for the entire labor force, despite the progressing economic recovery. One way of abstracting from this cyclical influence is to compare ratios of youth to adult unemployment over relevant years. In 1963 when the post World War II baby boom cohort first began striking the labor market, teenage employment was 3.2 times the rate for those 20 years and older. By 1969, that ratio had risen to 5.5 to 1, but the low overall rates of the Vietnam period hid that extreme. By 1976, with new entrants declining as a result of the "birth dearth" of the 60s and 70s, the youth/adult ratio was down once more to its traditional 3 to 1. But now high unemployment for all groups exaggerated the situation.

To a significant degree, the data reflect the unique characteristics of youth -- a period of time which, for any one person, is of rather short duration. The fact that the teenage years are characterized by pursuit of an education makes youth unemployment and adult unemployment noncomparable on the same dimensions. The period of high unemployment for teenagers is often a transition period between school and work; the very composition of this transition period is changing with the increased trend toward more education. This trend has resulted in a longer period of fluctuation between school and work which, along with other structural features of the transition period, affects youth unemployment. Teenagers change jobs, move in and out of the labor force and search for jobs with high frequency. Younger teenagers, usually living at home, consider school their prime function and are basically interested in vacation jobs or part-time jobs requiring low time commitments; therefore, they are more susceptible to unemployment than older teens and young adults. This is indicative of the impact of the passage of time, often a surrogate for maturation and job experience, on unemployment rates.

Ninety percent of all 16 and 17 year olds were in school in 1976, and an even higher percent of those seeking employment would have been full-time students seeking part-time jobs. School attendance was the primary activity of one third of those 16 to 24. Teenage unemployment is also typically of short duration because of their rapid movement in and out of the labor force. The typical 16 or 17 year old approaches a job primarily for short term income needs and without serious intent to remain a committed member of the labor force. The 18 to 21 year old is typically in an exploratory frame of mind, trying on various jobs and life styles to see which merits a firmer commitment. Beyond 21, usually with the approach of marriage and the accumulation of debts, the commitment tends to become more serious (Osterman, 1977).

The period bridging school and work has been examined with respect to factors such as educational level, intelligence, and family background. Bowen and Finnegan (1969) found a reduction in labor force participation while family income grew from under $2,000 to $6,000 per year, and an increase thereafter until upper income levels were realized. The rationale for this finding is that family and friends of teens in the above $6,000 per year income group are better equipped to assist them in securing a job. These jobs reflect the mood of the transition period in that teenagers are not, at this point in their lives, ready for career jobs, and these jobs do not necessarily have any relationship to eventual career employment. Whereas just over 3 percent of the employed labor force is 16 or 17 years of age, this group represents less than 0.5 percent of full-time employees. In 1976, nearly 70 percent of all unemployed 16 to 19 year olds represented new entrants or reentrants to the labor force; this contrasts to 12 percent of unemployed workers of all ages who had never worked, and 26 percent who were reentering the work force following some interruption. Unemployment for the teenager serves a functional role by providing experience related to job seeking.

Viewing teenage unemployment as a beneficial learning process by which young people log occupational time and information is congruent with the notion that it is natural for teenagers to live with unemployment and menial part-time jobs as long as being a student is the primary function. To the extent that the transition from school to work has already been traversed by some teens and young adults and seeking employment is their top priority, the dismal employment picture may present serious economic hardships. These hardships can be evaluated in terms of the difficulty of acquisition of basic necessities, as a loss in output to society, or as having a potential long-term debilitating effect on job related aspirations, skills and the attitude of the individual.

Doubling the number of young workers in a decade is a creditable accomplishment, one that has required the labor market to absorb an unprecedented number of young labor force entrants. Labor force participation rates for the 16 to 24 age group rose persistently through the 1960s and 1970s. In 1976, youth were 24 percent of the labor force compared to 16 percent in 1960. Young adults, 20 to 24 years of age, were able to capture more than their proportionate share of all of the occupational growth during the period. Teenagers were also able to do so for all but the technical, professional, managerial and craft jobs for which they lacked the necessary credentials, training, and experience.

Since the evidence is strong that those who suffer unemployment in youth are more likely than others to do so as adults, one cannot conclude that the billions of dollars

spent on education and on employment and training programs for youth were wasted. While it may well be argued that the investment was inadequate and many of the programs ill-conceived or poorly executed, much may have worked and much that did not may have failed for reasons beyond the control of policy makers and program operators. When so many youth were successfully absorbed into the job market and commenced satisfactory careers, it cannot be concluded even that most youth are inadequately prepared for the world of work.

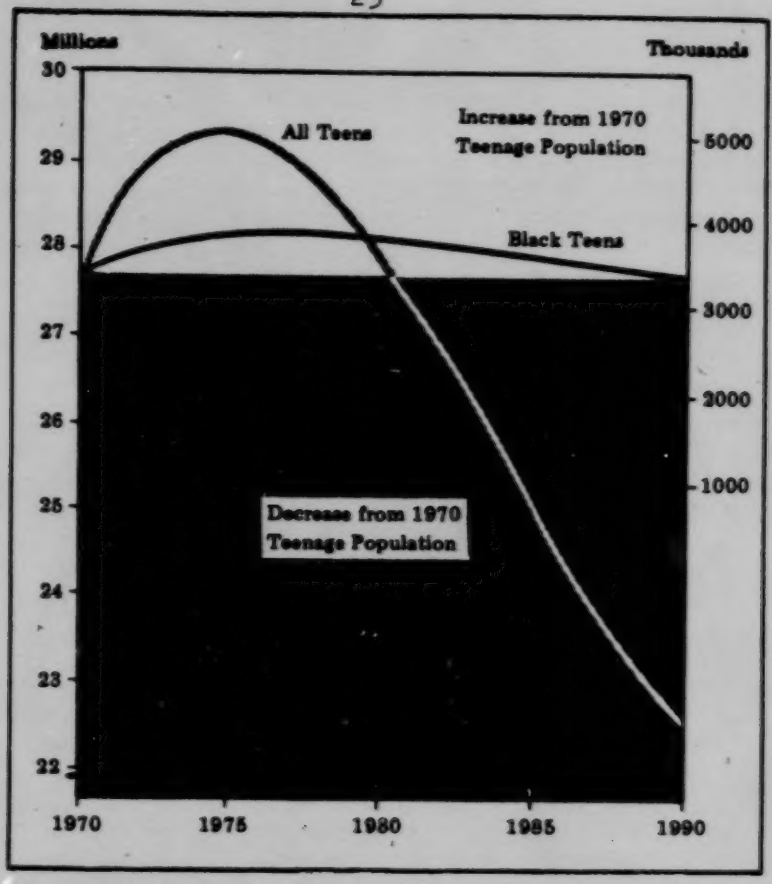
THE CAUSES OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The causes of youth unemployment can be divided among the demographic, the economic and the sociological. The central city is a special case where all three overlap.

Demographic Causes

The basic cause of the high levels of youth employment in recent years is perfectly clear; there have simply been so many of them. The post-war baby boom, including sustained increases in annual birth rates between 1947 and 1958, has directly impacted the supply side of the youth labor market since 1963. New births reached an intermediate peak in 1947 with 3.8 million live births a year, continuing to a second peak in 1958 and 1962 of just under 4.5 million births per year. The last of the population attributed to the baby boom will pass through the teenage years in 1981; thereafter, this age population will decline relatively. However, since the post-war birthrates for blacks peaked later and are declining more slowly than those of whites, the black teenage population will continue at the present level through at least 1990 (Figure 2.1). Whereas black and other nonwhite youths represented 11.1 percent of the teenage labor force in 1970, it is expected that this figure will be 14.6 in 1980 and increase to 15.2 in 1985.

These years, between 1963 and 1969, were marked by sustained economic growth and declining unemployment. Therefore, the rapid expansion of the teenage population in the mid-1960s did not present major unemployment problems to this age group due to the economic climate prevailing from the 1964 Kennedy tax cut and this country's increased involvement in the Vietnam War. This favorable environment for youth employment prevailed until, and was directly affected by, the slowdown in economic activity following U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. The effect of the immediate post Vietnam recession on teenage unemployment rates served as a prelude to the even higher rates (a high of 20 percent during the first half of 1975) during the 1974-75 second post-war recession.



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, P-25, No. 601, October 1975.

Figure 2.1. Relative Increase of Black and All Teenagers, 1970-90.

Economic Causes

The demographic factor was added to the almost inevitable youth differential reflecting their inexperience, general lack of skills and unstable attachment to the labor force. Additional economic causes of undetermined impact may be minimum wage laws and the competition from the increased supply of women workers. In his analysis of teenage unemployment data for the period 1963 to 1972, Ragan (1977) concludes that minimum wage legislation resulted in an increase of 3.8 percentage points in the teenage unemployment rate for 1972. Effects of minimum wage laws seem to be felt most severely by nonwhite teenage males, while, in general, male teenage unemployment is more affected than female teenage unemployment. The expanding labor force participation of women, from 32.7 percent in 1948 to 47.5 percent in 1976, has contributed in a negative way to youth employment by accelerating competition in many industries and occupations.

Sociological Factors

In assessing the significance of youth employment and unemployment statistics, account must be taken of the

general environment within which modern youth move from school to work. Since World War II, options have been made available to youth (not all of them benign) which were unheard of for the pre-war student and younger worker. A review of federal intervention in education, particularly vocational education, puts into stark relief the contrasting environments. Of particular interest is the economic and demographic climate which existed when the Smith-Hughes Act was passed in 1917, creating a system of education considered separate and distinct from academic education.

During the early years of the Twentieth Century, as more and more youth were going to school, it became evident that the prevailing education program was not meeting the needs of all youth. Few persons stayed in school beyond the eighth grade; many dropped out at the end of the sixth grade. In the school year 1908-1909, for example, of all persons in school, 93 percent were in elementary grades (grades 1 through 8), 4 percent in high school, and 3 percent in the colleges and universities. At the same time, the nation's previously almost insatiable demand for unskilled labor was beginning to decline, and the demand for higher skills was on the increase. These factors combined to create a demand for a different type of education, one which would prepare students for participation in the labor force -- a function which never before had been considered a school responsibility. The educational concentration was the "three Rs," for the creation of a literate citizenry whose members could function in a democratic society. Training for employment was considered an employer responsibility. Thus, the target population for vocational education, the nation's first manpower program, was the majority of students who were not expected to remain in school beyond the eighth grade, including large numbers of the children of urban immigrants, as well as those of rural sharecroppers and tenant farmers, most of whom had no perception of advancing to higher levels of academic education.

There was also a hidden agenda: by integrating academic education with vocational training, students could be kept in school longer, out of the labor force and out of unemployment. Students would be prepared in school to find entry jobs on their own, without requesting the intervention of ward bosses and other political leaders who were finding the job development process a bit of a political headache. Thus, schools were not only given the assignment of preparing students for entry into the labor force, but also for keeping them <u>out</u> of the labor force -- an assignment which has continued to the present day. High school dropouts are true school failures, not necessarily because dropouts are any less qualified for entry level employment than many of those who remain in school and receive a completion certificate, but because they are released into the labor market ahead of schedule and because many employers use a high school diploma as a screening device in the recruitment of new employees.

One of the major purposes of the Smith-Hughes Act was to increase the educational and occupational options available to the student of 1917. It was hoped that by integrating academic and vocational training, students would stay in school longer and thus become "more educated," and by providing training in "families" of occupations, their labor market options would be increased. Nevertheless, the educational and occupational options available to most students in that period were extremely limited. By the time the average student reached the age of 16, his or her economic career was pretty much determined. Thus, the training students received in school immediately prior to their entrance into the labor force could be of tremendous importance to them in finding work. This comparatively stark situation continued until World War II.

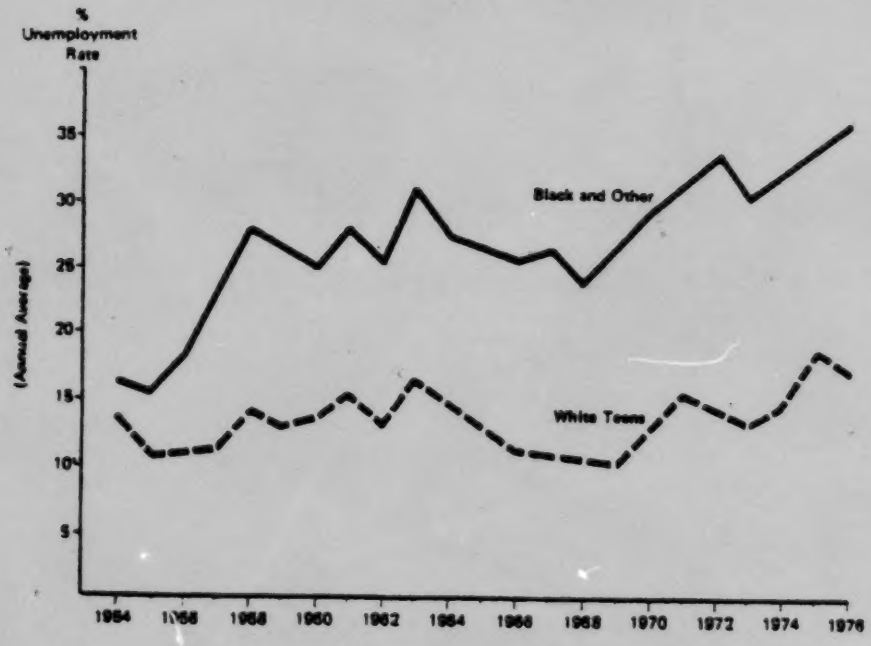
Today, a wide variety of options are available to most young people. Given these options, child labor laws and longer school retention, few young men and women decide on an occupation -- or even to enter the labor force on a full-time basis -- by age 16. Liberalized income maintenance programs have made periods of nonemployment a legitimate option for most youth. Increases in family income have made it unnecessary for the majority of young people to contribute to the maintenance of the family. Welfare benefits in some areas discourage the acceptance of low paying entry jobs, minimum wages forbid many such jobs, and the growth of the "irregular economy" offers alternative economic opportunities on the shady side of legality. In addition, the educational options available to youth today, in some cases even to youth who have not completed high school, are far greater than they ever have been in the past. Capping all this is the incredible numbers of youth emerging from the post-war baby boom. These facts must be taken into account in interpreting youth unemployment statistics, particularly in identifying those unemployed young people who both can benefit from and are motivated to enroll in youth employment and training programs.

The Special Case of Central Cities

Youth unemployment in central cities also has its demographic, economic and sociological dimensions, but they intertwine to an unusual degree, combining (1) perverse population trends, (2) deteriorating economies, and (3) disfunctional life styles. The gap between youth and adult unemployment, cited earlier, is shrinking only for white youth. Because the black population is younger than the white with a larger proportion of child-bearing age and because the black birthrate did not fall as sharply as the white, the number of black youth continues to rise while the number of white is just beginning a precipitious decline, as Figure 2.1 illustrates. The ratio between black and white unemployment which has been persistently

approximately two to one at all ages is not widening for youth as shown by Figure 2.2. Black youth in metropolitan poverty areas across the nation suffer the astronomical unemployment figures already shown by Table 2-1

Between 1970 and 1976, the number of central city teenagers in the labor force increased by 25 percent to a total of 2.3 million persons. These figures are put into focus by comparison to the virtual zero growth of the overall urban work force. While black teenage employment in rural areas has been thwarted by the rising mechanization of farming; their work efforts in urban areas have been discouraged by the simultaneous effect of an increased minority youth component in competition for jobs within deteriorating urban labor markets. Urban youth unemployment is overwhelmingly a problem



Source: Employment and Training Report of the President, 1977.

Figure 2.2. Teenage Unemployment Rates by Race

for blacks; more than 60 percent of all unemployed black teenagers were located in central cities, in contrast to 23 percent of all unemployed white teens during the second quarter of 1977.

The opportunities available to urban youth, white and nonwhite, are primarily part-time, low-paying jobs emanating from low-status industries and occupations. Even within the confines of these low-esteem opportunities, the divergence between white and nonwhite job availability is evident and is attributed to a "credentials gap." The job marketability of black youth is marred by educational deficiencies and racial discrimination that manifest in a labor market prejudice that puts the nonwhite youth at a disadvantage. Within central cities in 1976 the white male labor force participation rate of 60 percent was nearly 20 percentage points above the rate for black male teenagers. Concomitantly, the black male teenage unemployment rate was double the rate for white urban youths. Female rates reflect the same pattern, with the white female participation rate double that for blacks and white teenage unemployment rate half of the jobless rate for black females. These various hindrances to urban teens entering the labor market have been matched by the expansion of movement into alternative sectors -- most notably teenagers have taken advantage of prolific and lucrative "irregular" economic activities (hustling) and welfare offerings (Ferman, et al, 1978).

The crucial factor is that increases on the supply side of the labor market were not paralleled in any sense by expansion on the demand side; rather, demand for workers in the central cities was characterized by continual low and often negative growth rates into the 1970s. This pattern for central cities also is in direct contrast to the pattern of growth for job offerings in the outlying suburban areas where black and white teenagers of both sexes have lower unemployment rates than their central city counterparts.

Teenage job offerings within central cities reflect a concentration of employment in occupational categories experiencing the highest unemployment rates, such as sales, clerical, operatives, non-farm labor and service occupations. During the period 1970 to 1974, employment of sales persons and operatives decreased; clerical employment increased marginally and the other two categories experienced some growth. When this breakdown of occupations is computed for larger central cities, the results look more bleak -- the category of service workers is the only one to register positive growth, while all others showed a decline in offerings. In terms of industrial affiliation, teenagers are concentrated in wholesale and retail trade in jobs marred by above average unemployment.

Friedlander (1972), in his attempt to isolate factors contributing to high unemployment rates for ghetto youth, found higher rates in urban markets dominated by construction and manufacturing as opposed to markets with a large retail sector. Organized unions present an institutional barrier to young potential workers in construction and manufacturing which is augmented by employers economic bias for older workers. Friedlander's findings indicate that reduction of ghetto youth unemployment would be most impacted by growth in the retail trade sector of the economy, whereas growth of employment in general cannot necessarily be counted on to alleviate the employment situation for slum area teenage residents. Among the factors investigated by Friedlander, differences in educational levels emerged as a significant variable in explaining teenage unemployment in slum areas. These findings, corroborated by Harrison (1974) are interpreted as a displacement proposition whereby higher educated nonwhite workers who find employment in the secondary market displace less educated workers; this results in an underutilization of ghetto workers who are not in a position to work up to their potential productivity.

The problem of youth unemployment in general, and specifically that aspect plaguing the central cities, cannot be treated without in-depth exploration into the anatomy of the existence of those who "inhabit" unemployment statistics. The analysis of cultural, social and economic background is vital in an attempt to determine why employment patterns differ for inner-city youth and why these young people may be less concerned with a commitment to work as the central focus of existence. A basis for comparison can be established by examining the general cultural background from which values and attitudes toward work seem to develop for the majority of people; people who, for the most part, view work as a positive means of self-expression. The process of career development deals with self-concept, the formulation and implementation of values, personality, physical strength and muscular coordination; when interfaced with biological and psychological development, the broader growth and maturation process of individuals is formulated. As is true with other aspects of development, the very early home and family environment play a crucial, and often irreversible, role in the formulation of values and attitudes toward work that will influence and affect an individual's working career. Each child moves through early life recording experiences, both positive and negative, formulating an orientation toward the environment that mirrors the degree to which it responds to the child's basic needs. Each individual is confined to a major extent by genetic inheritance that restricts physical and mental achievement, but up to these limitations, there is room for a vast amount of variation that results directly from ability to control environmental forces.

As basic needs are met, a child perceives success and views the environment as non-threatening; this environment and the realm of experiences expands rapidly once schooling starts. There begins an initial awareness, although limited in scope, of the adult occupational world as parents and other adults are seen in occupational-related roles and work assumes meaning and significance. This awareness, along with a sense of self-worth at a personal level becomes more important as a child begins to develop discipline in the areas of school work, household chores, music lessons and athletics. Self-concept, sensitivity to others, behavior and play all take on different dimensions as the child advances in age and experience. The expanding environment offers many role models and occupational preferences undergo many changes as new discoveries influence likes and dislikes.

As the middle-class child progresses to adolescence there is a conceptualization that adults perceive their work role, whether in employment, homemaking, or in a vocational accomplishment, as a means of achieving self-worth. Within this framework the adolescent begins initial examination of careers and life styles, rejecting those that do not conform to an individual vision. The vision becomes increasingly tempered with reality as the adolescent tests himself, his abilities, his own value system and his knowledge of the external conditions surrounding various occupations. Decisions about alternatives become increasingly important as the field of choice is narrowed. Although most middle-class children finish school with some work experience behind them, these jobs have been functional only in providing work experience (and spending money) but are not perceived as impacting eventual career choice. This eventual career choice is usually stabilized during the period of young adulthood between ages 18 and 24. By age 18 most people have worked for pay, have some familiarity with the job market and its relationship to the general economic realities of supply and demand, and the way in which various occupational levels differ in terms of responsibility, financial reward, service to others, image and respect and kinds of personalities suited for these. College attendance often extends occupational decision making to a later age and exerts a strong influence on the eventual choice.

In general, the result of this pattern of career development is self-confidence in the career choice and in the ability to follow a strong commitment to this decision. This long-run, smooth access (albeit filled with short-run obstacles and deviations) to occupational success depicts the favored end of the socio-economic scale -- how does this contrast to career development in the ghetto?

The ghetto child's immediate environment is likely to be somewhat unstructured and lacking definite boundaries,

including the parental role which may not be so much biologically defined as it is a function of availability, convenience or ability. Self-support systems may have difficulty taking root as the early, crucial interaction period with family members may actually be detrimental and hinder the childs' mental development and self-confidence. Rainwater (1971) emphasizes this important aspect: "But in Negro slum culture growing up involves an ever increasing appreciation of one's shortcomings, of the impossibility of finding a self-sufficient and gratifying way of living. It is in the family first and most devastatingly that one learns these lessons." Play habits of the ghetto child that are more violent, more aggressive and more defensive than those of the middle-class counterpart mirror the realities of an environment that is threatening in a physical sense and demanding in the necessity for dealing with survival early in life.

The ghetto child does not differ from others in that the main forces exerting influence early in life are parents. Research by Bell (1971) indicates that for the lower class black woman, the parental role is highly significant, and she displays basic child rearing values similar to mothers of other socio-economic classes. However, lower class mothers do not have a deep psychological involvement with their children. This may be due in part to an inability to protect the child from the harsh realities of the ghetto. Ghetto mothers tend to give female children more responsibility, favoritism and encouragement with respect to pursuit of education and job skills than is given to male children. This gives the ghetto female an early advantage in the development of self-confidence. In addition to neglecting the male child's need for formulating a sense of responsibility, the ghetto mother's treatment of her son is often a manifestation of negative attitudes she has developed toward men. This maternal attitude can be inhibiting to the growth of the ghetto boy -- he turns to his peers in the street where he gains acceptance and learns that deviant behavior is a means of achieving a positive labeling.

The ghetto father, either because of absenteeism or lack of ability, is often unable to project the positive image so vital to a child's development. The child is caught between the image of a father successful in the ghetto setting (which is likely to consist of behavior unacceptable to the larger society) or one who projects a negative image with respect to a strong job posture (even if the father works, the job may be unrewarding both monetarily and personally). There seems to be no doubt that this lack of exposure to positive work attitudes is detrimental -- lower class black children are deprived of relevant role models in the daily work experience of parents, relatives and neighbors, including the casual and informal introduction to the role of the workers and to the "language" of work.

Armed with the initial stages of a shaky survival system, the ghetto children approach school where their attitudes are often submissive or precociously independent, reflecting their "bad" perception of themselves. As children advance through elementary school, the influence of teachers is replaced by that of peers; the result is not conducive to academic achievement as peer group motives are generally counter to motives and expectations of the educational system. Even if a child manages to remain motivated and somewhat immune to peer pressure, the ghetto school system is not geared to provide the proper tools and reinforcement to fuel the motivation.

Peer dominance, which serves as a springboard for deviant behavior, nearly totally displaces school and parental influences as the young black male moves through pre-adolescence. Although the female child's role differs sharply, her efforts and motivation for upward mobility, achievement in education and career are frequently shattered by early pregnancy and submersion into the pattern of a welfare supported female family head.

It is the approach to the labor market that significantly dichotomizes the respective positions of ghetto and middle-class youths. The black youth's deprivation in regard to education, social class and lack of proper role models is a severe handicap. Cultural deprivation, in the form of functional illiteracy, a lack of basic education and social graces, and judgmental deficiencies are revealed when young blacks enter the labor market. This deprivation is not offset by the fact that these young people possess many of the traits deemed desirable by middle-class standards: courage, leadership, ingenuity, tenacity, intelligence, ability to manage people and highly developed verbal skills.

The negative aspect of lack of proper job-oriented models for black youth is augmented by the frequency of exposure to the seemingly rewarding life of the hustler who ostentatiously displays the monetary rewards of his profession. Although it is difficult to properly assess the significance of the irregular economy that black youth are so readily exposed to, the major influence of this viable alternative to the lower paying, lower prestige (within the ghetto setting), lower availability of legal employment must not be underestimated. Pullock (1973) emphasizes this: "Rather than being marginal or of uncertain importance, the subeconomy is probably the greatest single source of market income for young men in the central city."

If energy follows the path of least resistance, why should not the ghetto youth do likewise? His exposure from early life promotes dissonance in attempts to evaluate and determine his own self-worth and how he fits into a subculture

that itself is unacceptable to the larger social environment. Even if he possesses the motivation and the proper tools, perhaps his immediate physical needs dictate that he cannot afford the luxury of going through the same definitive process as does the middle-class youth in seeking employment and a career.

The situation for black youth in the ghetto did not develop overnight. Neither will solutions to the problem of fitting these youth into the acceptable framework of a society where self-worth evolves from the rewards of employment and a strong job commitment emerge rapidly and painlessly. Recent data suggest that overall black employment in cities has not been responsive to moderate national economic recovery. The outlook tends to worsen with projections of employment structure that show the concentration of black youths in slow growth blue collar jobs will adversely affect their employment in the mid-1980s unless occupational upgrading occurs. Other aspects that may tend to affect youth employment in a negative way in the near future are a decline in the trend toward prolonged schooling (which absorbs young people and prolongs their search for work) which may result with increased evidence of lower economic returns to post-secondary education; and accelerating competition for youth jobs from women, older workers, and aliens.

DESIGN SUMMARY

The causes of youth unemployment seem clear, even if the cures are not. The rate of job creation has been inadequate to absorb all of those of all ages who have sought work. Someone must be at the end of any accumulating queue. Younger workers are most likely to be there because they are both the most recent and most frequent entrants and re-entrants with the highest levels of frictional unemployment. A high proportion are full-time students who subordinate their labor force activities to academic goals. They are in an exploratory stage of career development which puts a premium on trying on new work and nonwork roles, adding to their high turnover and to the relatively short duration of their unemployment. Employers tend to avoid them for jobs in which a long term commitment is expected for all of the above reasons. And many, particularly those in the central city poverty areas, are located where there are few jobs for which they can qualify, where there are often more attractive sources of income than the jobs that are available and many of them have adopted for survival life styles which are disfunctional in labor market terms.

For many youth, therefore, unemployment during these transition years may not be a serious burden, but there are several groups of especial concern:

(1) School dropouts: On virtually every measure of labor market performance, the youth who left school without obtaining a high school diploma had a poorer record than youth who completed high school. The unemployment rates of dropouts are higher, their labor force participation rates are lower, and they are susceptible to frequent spells of short-duration unemployment while moving among unsatisfactory jobs involving little improvement in earnings.

(2) Nonwhite youth: In most age and educational categories nonwhites are doing much more poorly than whites with respect to both labor force participation and unemployment rates. As might be expected, the group having the most labor market problems is nonwhite school dropouts, indicating that race combined with low educational attainment is associated with the most severe labor market maladjustment. Blacks, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican Americans encounter the greatest difficulties, while Orientals, Cubans and foreign-born youth do at least as well as the average youth. Adding a ghetto residence to these disadvantages has a devastating effect.

(3) Out-of-school 16 to 17 year olds: While unemployment rates are highest for the 16 to 17 year old group, the severity of the problem is attenuated somewhat by the fact that about 85 percent are looking for part-time work. The young teenagers having the most difficulty are those who are out of school. Their unemployment problems are aggravated by employer restrictions on hiring youth under 18, as well as the view of many employers that 16 to 17 year olds are immature and undependable. The 16 to 17 year nonwhite, school dropouts have the most severe unemployment problem of any other group, a startling 68.8 percent in October 1975. In previous years, when economic conditions were not as bad as they were in 1975, their rate had exceeded 50 percent.

(4) Involuntary part-time workers: About 1.4 million youth (3 percent of all youth) had part-time jobs although they would have preferred full-time jobs. Such youth need help in improving their qualifications or assistance in finding better jobs.

(5) Disinterested youth: About 1.2 million youth (3 percent of all youth) did not want jobs despite the fact that they were not in school, keeping house, or discouraged about their prospects of finding a job. No information is available about why they prefer to remain out of the labor force. One conjecture is that most are taking a break between school and work before resuming school. Some may also be alienated from the regular labor market and be supporting themselves in other ways. There is apparently no relationship between economic status and disinterest in participating in the labor force since significantly more non-white youth than white youth fall into this category (4.7 percent compared with 3.3 percent).

(6) Discouraged youth: Youth who have suspended their job search because they have become discouraged about their prospects of finding jobs comprise about one percent of the youth population, or about 343,000 youth. The proportion is small, but the youth who are discouraged about getting a job, even though they are not reflected in unemployment rates, are still a sizable group and badly need assistance.

These, then, are the groups most in need of help in making the transition from school to work. That is not to say that other young men and women, including 16 to 17 year old in-school youth who want to (or do) obtain part-time or full-time jobs, cannot benefit from federally sponsored or other employment and training programs; they can and do, but with regard to priorities, it would appear that the youth included in these overlapping categories have the greatest need. Whether the services available from employment and training will substantially affect their situation, which is a complex mix of economics, social, historical, demographic and to a degree natural forces, remains part of a future, unwritten chapter.

CHAPTER 3

OUTREACH AND ASSESSMENT

So many of the components of employment and training programs were first tried in experimental and demonstration projects during the early years of the Manpower Development and Training Act. Among these contributions was adoption of a "social services" model for delivering services to individual enrollees. Potential "clients" experiencing unemployment and poverty were to be recruited by various means, and after undergoing an "intake and assessment" process, services were to be "prescribed" on an individual basis. This model reflected what Breakthrough for Disadvantaged Youth (1969) called "a shift to the social perspective in public policy with respect to social problems." These programs, "Breakthrough" notes, "were launched in early 1963 on the crest . . . of the social science revolution in welfare thought." For the first time a sociological approach was used in delivering what were essentially economic services -- training and retraining and subsidized employment. Though this model was modified and sometimes abandoned in later years, the terminology or nomenclature has persisted.

The adoption of the social services model was a direct result of the shift in employment and training policy emphasis from experienced adult workers who had been displaced by technological and economic changes to the disadvantaged, particularly disadvantaged youth. The assumptions were that traditional pedagogy was unsuitable for training disadvantaged youth, traditional agencies were both unwilling and unable to deal with them, and that additional social services for disadvantaged clients would have to be built in to employment and training programs. The result was programs that were far more client oriented than previous employment and training services which had been primarily employer oriented.

One of the first concerns of the new orientation was reaching the disadvantaged and enticing them to enroll in the programs. It was assumed that traditional recruitment agencies such as the public employment services and the vocational schools would be unsuccessful in recruiting disadvantaged youth because of their "mainstream, middle-class orientation." A subsidiary concern was assessing the service needs of these disadvantaged clients. Thus, the terms "outreach," "supportive services," and "assessment" were coined. In this chapter the various methods used by program operators in recruiting the disadvantaged and assessing their needs once they were enrolled in programs are reviewed. Although the literature on outreach and assessment is less extensive than that for other employment and training program components, several lessons emerge which are pertinent for today's employment and training program administrators.

OUTREACH

Outreach is only one form of recruitment, but with the shift in employment and training program policy from the non-disadvantaged to the disadvantaged, it became the most important recruitment technique. It involved two concepts -- recruitment and community penetration -- which were perhaps best defined in Breakthrough for Disadvantaged Youth:

> Recruitment . . . refers to the strategies and procedures which project staffs (try) in order to locate and involve . . . seriously disadvantaged (the out-of-school and out-of-work) urban and rural youth in their programs.
>
> Community penetration . . . refers to the techniques used by . . . projects to win a place for themselves in the ongoing communities in which they were started and, at the same time, gain support from the following four different publics:
>
> -- The general community
> -- Potential employers
> -- Agencies and organizations already operating youth programs
> -- Indigenous groups

Much of the early literature on recruitment, outreach and community penetration deals with the inability of established agencies, such as the Employment Service, to relate to the disadvantaged, and the poor image which such agencies had in the communities in which the disadvantaged lived. The inevitable conclusion was that employment and training program

administrators had to disassociate themselves from such agencies and initiate their own recruitment techniques. The preferred method was outreach, or the assignment of specific project staff members to seek recruits on a face-to-face basis. This in turn meant that the recruiters should be those who were able to be "where the action is" without looking out of place. Thus, they had to be indigenous to the neighborhood or community, speak the same language as the enrollees, and have some standing with youth leaders who would otherwise give short shrift to establishment representatives.

As the focus of other agencies, particularly the Employment Service, changed from white, middle class applicants, both youth and adult, to the disadvantaged, the need for such specialized outreach activities by program operators declined. Indeed, in many areas, the Employment Service itself began to employ indigenous outreach workers. However, regardless of whether recruitment was carried out by the operators of employment and training programs or by other traditional agencies, several problems quickly emerged.

The Weaknesses of Outreach

These emerging weaknesses were of four general kinds:

Too Much Recruitment

Program operators who initiated active outreach programs often found themselves in the position of having inadequate slots to serve all the youth recruited. Thus, outreach activities often proved to be too successful with predictable disillusioning results.

Inadequate Programming

As designed, many of the projects were to work with the hard core disadvantaged youth, but the meaning of the term was at best ambiguous, and most employment and training programs were simply not equipped to deal with the grossly disadvantaged. The search for hard core unemployment youth often resulted in the enrollment of youth who could not benefit from the available services. Few projects were equipped in training or in job placement terms to deal with the most seriously disadvantaged among the youth population, for example, the mentally ill, the drug addicted, the alcoholic, or the seriously retarded.

Indigenous Workers

The use of indigenous workers for outreach activities often caused more problems than they helped solve. Such

personnel sometimes abused the confidential nature of records, failed to control young workers, attempted to exploit them, and in other ways proved unsatisfactory. Interviews with administrators of the Employment Service and other employment and training programs produced almost uniformly negative responses on the concept of outreach.

> Outreach was unnecessary, and we wouldn't need it now. Once we located the offices near the ghettos the kids came to us. For example, in Detroit the YOC (Youth Opportunity Center) was at first located downtown. We had 160 staff people but few kids. When we disbursed the offices the kids swarmed in.
>
> It didn't work. The people who were doing the outreach too often were in bad shape themselves. They 'goofed off' too much. They just couldn't be let loose into such a provocative and unstructured situation which depended heavily on being a self-starter.
>
> Outreach is not only unhelpful, it is downright bad. Kids can't be 'induced' to come in, and when they are they are just looking for a handout. We had an erroneous idea about those disadvantaged youth -- they aren't sitting out there without any knowledge about all the 'goodies' the government offers. They've been counseled to death, and they're street-wise. And then, after you dragged them in, what did you have to offer? We stuck them in training courses, and they were the source of the high dropout rates. (Breakthrough for Disadvantaged Youth, 1969.)

Nevertheless, from among these indigenous neighborhood workers emerged many of the leading practitioners of employment and training programs still prominent today.

Lack of Congruity

The need to deal with outreach and recruitment as separate components is arbitrary and goes to the very heart of the major problem which has bedeviled the whole history of government investment in human resources. For a program to work, there must be congruity between the content of the program, the people for whom it is designed, and the methods used to find those people. To worry the obvious, a ninth-grade dropout, with reading skills bordering on illiteracy and who has never held a job for more than a few weeks, should not be enrolled in a computer training course. Thus, in filling such slots, outreach workers should not be seeking out 17 year olds in pool halls during school hours. The

assumption is that individuals have shortcomings which make them unacceptable to employers and unable to perform the work. The key goal should be to determine what individuals require for employability and to target services and programs more specifically to such needs. After 17 years of experimentation with employment and training programs for youth, however, magic formulas for assessing needs and prescribing services remain elusive.

Successful Outreach Methods

Outreach and recruitment cannot be examined as an isolated component of an employment and training program. The methods used to bring people into a program can be judged only by how well the needs of those recruited correspond to those services which are being offered. Nevertheless, there are some target groups which are hard to locate and could benefit from employment and training services. Assuming that an understanding of the needs of individuals within these groups exist and programs can be designed to meet those needs, the application of sound outreach techniques could assure that individuals who otherwise would not be reached can be enrolled in programs. The literature describes some of the more successful of these techniques.

Cooperative School Program

Prior to the shift in emphasis from the non-disadvantaged to the disadvantaged, the Employment Service was actively engaged in outreach and recruitment activities specifically directed toward youth. When the emphasis changed in the mid-1960s, these activities were dropped, or replaced by the Youth Opportunity Center concept, primarily because they were tainted with "elitism," or concentration on high school completers and/or the white, middle-class majority. Yet, the techniques employed could easily be expanded to include disadvantaged, in-school youth and/or potential dropouts. The principle underlying the program, which was to provide employment services to students before they entered the labor market, was valid for all target groups -- disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged. It was also a program which, by its very nature, provided information on the needs of in-school youth.

The program involved cooperation between the schools and local offices of the Employment Service which, at the time, was the only manpower agency existing in most communities, and was called the Cooperative School Program. In many areas, cooperative merely meant that the schools allowed Employment Service personnel to come to the schools and administer the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) and other proficiency and interest tests to high school seniors. In some areas, on the other hand, cooperation meant a mingling

of staffs, an interchange of responsibility and knowledge. School counselors worked directly with Employment Service staff, providing Employment Service counselors with school records and often spent summer months in local offices in order to learn more about the local labor market and receive training in the administration and interpretation of the GATB. Thus, Employment Service staff not only provided a service directly to students, but also trained school counselors.

In the most common model, the initial testing and scheduling of seniors was performed in autumn on school premises. Subsequent counseling took place in local offices. In the spring, before graduation, students were again called back and an active job development effort was initiated by local office staff to line up openings and interviews for the seniors upon graduation. Within the confines of the agency's resources and the perceptions of counseling, testing and job development that existed in the 1950s, the agency exerted considerable effort to help young people make the transition from school to work.

It is also interesting to note that although the initial target group of the program was high school seniors, the focus eventually widened to help students remain in school by offering part-time and summer job programs. By 1956, as schools began referring problem students to the Employment Service, local offices began dealing with the more serious problems of actual and potential school dropouts.

This program, which incorporates many of the features of transitional programs being called for today by critics of the school-to-work transition process, could be initiated by local CETA prime sponsors or re-initiated by local Employment Service offices. It would be particularly useful in reaching one of the problem groups -- 16 to 17 year old, in-school youth, including potential dropouts. Its techniques could be changed to reflect the wisdom of the day, and its emphasis could be shifted to youth who are most likely to have difficulties in making the transition from school to work. One of the major benefits to be derived from such a program would be better information about the needs of youth who are potential dropouts or who are likely to have difficulties in making the transition from school to work. All things being equal, such information should contribute to more realistic employment and training programming for youth.

Outstationing of Agency Personnel

When all of the conditions are right, one of the most successful methods of accomplishing outreach was the outstationing of employment and training personnel in agencies

which either had an overflow of applicants or for other reasons were in need of referral sources. For example, an MDTA experimental and demonstration project, run by a national organization for children and youth, sought enrollees from among those rejected for voluntary service in the Armed Forces (National Committee for Children and Youth, 1970).

Operating in two large eastern cities, it placed its own staff in the same buildings as those housing Armed Forces recruiting stations. When youths between the ages of 17 and 22 failed to pass the preliminary Enlistment Screening Test, they were immediately referred to the training project recruiter located at the testing site. This recruitment strategy seemed to have everything going for it and was eventually expanded into a national effort:

- It was targeted upon an appropriate disadvantaged population in the right age groups by virtue of the nature of the agency from which it sought recruits.

- The outside agency with which the training program was dealing seemed to be in the market for some sort of referral for those who were rejected for enlistment, and who otherwise would simply be turned back on the streets.

- The enlistment stations who had turned them down were not reluctant to give up control of those referred.

- The referral process itself was quick and simple and there was no occasion to lack confidence in the receiving program or its management.

- The services provided by the training program were highly relevant to the programmatic needs and interests of the referring agency which, it can be assumed, had a pragmatic interest in salvaging as many rejected volunteers as possible.

The five conditions cited above seem to be key to whether the outstationing of program personnel in likely referral agencies will or will not bear fruit. It is a technique that might be useful in reaching the discouraged youth, described in Chapter 2. Potential outstation agencies include welfare departments (although the existence of the WIN program may vitiate their efforts), law enforcement agencies, correctional institutions, and vocational rehabilitation agencies.

Community Based Organizations

Although community based organizations (CBOs) have been involved in employment and training programs since the mid-1960s, in recent years their participation has been given added emphasis. Recent CETA admendments and youth legislation (YEDPA) have mandated the participation of community based organizations, and even without mandates, CBOs have exerted a good deal of influence on employment and training programming, both through their participation in CETA advisory councils and in the actual operation of CETA programs. The assumption underlying the encouragement of CBO participation is that these agencies, because of their presumed knowledge of the needs of the disadvantaged and ability to recruit them, are more likely to enroll individuals with the greatest needs and initiate realistic programs.

The evidence on CBO performance is far from conclusive and is often conflicting. In many instances CBOs have been instrumental in reaching potential enrollees that otherwise would not be reached, and many CBO programs have been models of their kind. On the other hand, CBOs have developed a vested interest in employment and training programs throughout the country, and are subject to the same pressures that often affect the performance of other agencies -- good completion, placement and follow-up rates. In addition, many CBOs have become dependent on CETA funds for their continued existence with consequent loss of independence and flexibility. Finally, in selecting CBOs for participation in youth employment and training programs, care must be taken that the organizations actually have the resources to perform the services they say they will perform in their proposals.

Recent studies have indicated that in several instances enrollees in CBO programs have been less disadvantaged than those enrolled in programs administered by more traditional agencies, and that the performance of some CBOs has been erratic. Nevertheless, CBOs are a legitimate recruitment source and their potential contributions cannot be ignored.

ASSESSMENT

The social services model for employment and training programming is neat and tidy and involves three basic steps: (1) the identification and enrollment of individuals whose general need is indicated by unemployment and poverty; (2) an intake process in which assessment of the individuals recruited can determine their specific needs; and (3) the referral of enrollees to appropriate services or combinations of services. The intake and assessment steps are predicated on the assumption that techniques exist capable of identifying both the

talents and abilities and the weaknesses of the clients. This assumption was challenged early in the employment and training program experience and formal assessment techniques were virtually abandoned, only now experiencing some revival among CETA prime sponsors. The reasons for abandonment, the substitutes used in the interim and the causes and status of revival are worth noting to assess the usefulness of assessment in youth programs.

Limitations of Assessment

Near abandonment occurred both because of limitations of available assessment techniques and because of limitations in the programs to which they were applied. Given the social services approach, the major limitation was that most of the assessment tools had been developed for the purpose of screening out individuals with competency below some prescribed level. They were not diagnostic tools for identifying shortcomings to be remedied. Thus, employers were interested in selecting, and having placement services select for them, the most productive and risk free employees. Schools were interested in selecting the easiest taught and most likely of success. The employment and training program clients were those already selected out by formal and informal methods.

As soon as equal employment opportunity became a national goal, the various tests and assessment tools became inadequate even for their original purpose. They had been normed to predict success of those with characteristics most like the majority of the population. They could not predict accurately for populations with substantially different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. Soon they became subject to court challenges for denying employment opportunity for causes other than the potential ability to do the job. The choice was either to abandon such techniques or develop and validate new ones without built-in cultural biases.

Finally, to the extent there was validity, few employment and training programs had staff capable of assessing the results of such assessments.

From the program side, there were two major limitations to using assessment techniques, no matter how valid. First, it was found that if intake procedures were too long or complicated, high dropout rates resulted. Apparently youth were either suspicious of or indifferent to pre-program testing. Experience indicated that if new enrollees were referred into a program component as soon as possible, dropout rates were reduced.

Secondly, recruiters were constantly under pressure to fill slots. The selection process worked best when a

program was beginning and all slots were open. During this period, there was generally time for selection and personnel available to exercise some judgment in the referral of applicants to various programs, or to components within programs. However, if a program was underway and having difficulty in filling its slots, or if the slots available were limited, leaving no alternatives for referral, the pressure mounted and judgment became a luxury. Likewise, when slots opened in a program component in operation, recruiters were expected to act fast in filling those slots. Again, the search for eligible bodies was the only assessment that took place.

In 1973, a widely held view was stated by the Labor Department monograph, Methods of Assessing the Disadvantaged in Manpower Programs:

> It may be argued, of course, that even the most promising of new assessment techniques still have very limited potential. For example, current available validity data for the otherwise exemplary ETS battery are extremely modest. Support for the work sample techniques is ambiguous and still mostly testimonial in nature. Some other assessment tools lack supporting validity data altogether. Thus, one might be led to conclude that the use of assessment techniques in manpower programs ought to be abandoned.

Substitutes for Testing

The discontinuance of pre-program or intake testing did not necessarily mean that assessment was abandoned altogether. Assessments were made by counselors or were integrated into program components such as orientation, pre-vocational training and observation of enrollees during their early participation in programs. Assessment became an informal and on-going process rather than a one-shot component at intake. Perhaps the most used substitute for assessment was the acquisition of all existing information about enrollees -- information that was compiled prior to their enrollment in employment and training programs. This was particularly true in the case of youth whose school records were generally available to employment and training program administrators and who often had records on file with other social welfare agencies as well.

The Revival of Formal Assessment

The advent of CETA has forced some re-examination of assessment tools. Prime sponsors must choose from among eligible individuals those who are to receive services, must either continue or change a mix of services and must choose

among alternative service deliverers. Both the eligible groups and the service agencies are capable of and often quick to protest any apparent slight. Many prime sponsors have come to feel the need for objective and defensible assessment tools.

New tests and other assessment techniques have been developed which are allegedly without cultural bias, though none yet have adequate proof of that claim. More trained personnel are available on either a staff or consultant basis to use the available tests more competently with fuller awareness of their strengths and weaknesses. Better inter-program linkages allow cost saving through multi-agency usage. The demand for demonstrable objectivity is high and something is better than nothing.

DESIGN SUMMARY

In designing programs for youth, employment and training program administrators must first do their home-work. This means discovering to the extent possible the universe of youth in their communities who are either failing in school or are having employment difficulties, and whose shortcomings can be treated by services available from employment and training programs. Recruitment, outreach and assessment must be based on a realistic appraisal of community needs and the efficacy of the employment and training tools available to meet those needs. The disadvantaged are not a monolithic group. Some can benefit from subsidized employment, skills training, counseling and placement services; others cannot. In attempting to identify youth who can benefit from employment and training services, program administrators cannot rely solely on their own resources. They must maintain close liaison with other agencies which deal with youth on a day-to-day basis, including the schools, welfare agencies, law enforcement and/or parole agencies, community based organizations, Armed Forces recruitment centers, and church groups, among others.

Likewise, in assessing the needs of youth, program administrators must also work closely with the same agencies, particularly the schools. Whatever assessment techniques program operators may use, these should be integrated with existing records regarding both the strengths and shortcomings of individual youths.

Following are some of the major points which emerge from the literature regarding the recruitment of youth and the assessment of their needs once they are enrolled in programs.

Recruitment

Recruitment differs essentially for in-school and out-of-school youth.

Youth of High School Age

No better means has as yet been discovered for identifying potential dropouts, actual dropouts still of high school age, and other youth who because of their school experiences are likely to have employment problems, then maintaining close relationships with school counselors, work education coordinators, teachers, and research personnel. The pre-1960s Employment Service Cooperative School Program, modified to take into account changing priorities and new methods of individual and group assessment and counseling, is a program which should be re-examined as a potential model for CETA education cooperation. This program would not only be valuable for identifying in-school youth who are in trouble and who could benefit from employment and training programs, but also in determining the types of programs, other than those already available in the community, for easing the transitional problems of youth.

Out-of-School Youth

Over the years, three methods have proved to be reasonably successful in the recruitment of out-of-school youth for employment and training programs: (1) outstationing of agency personnel, (2) community based organizations, and (3) centralized recruitment.

Outstationing of Agency Personnel: If the conditions are right, the outstationing of personnel in agencies which are in need of referral sources can be an effective method of recruitment. However, this method requires that the outstation agencies (1) deal with a large number of youth, and (2) are not reluctant to give up control of the clients referred. Finally, the services available from employment and training programs must be relevant to the needs and interests of the referring agencies.

Community Based Organizations: Community based organizations which serve in one way or another a large number of youth may also be excellent sources of potential clients. Recruitment can be accomplished by either requesting referrals from them or by subcontracting with them as program operators. In recent years, the latter has become the most common practice.

Centralized Recruitment: Variations on the Youth Opportunity Center concept are being established by CETA prime sponsors, sometimes in conjunction with the Employment Service, the schools, or both. Well publicized youth centers,

which are conveniently located, not only facilitate recruitment, but also lead to better information regarding the needs of unemployed or underemployed youth, thus leading to more realistic programming.

Recruitment is not the problem it was in past years. Most CETA prime sponsors and subcontractors are well known in their communities and no longer suffer a shortage of applicants. In fact, the opposite is true. However, special recruitment and outreach activities may be necessary for certain hard to reach (or hard to identify) youth, including potential school dropouts, discouraged youth, those with language difficulties, and recently released young public offenders. The techniques outlined above could be useful in reaching such youth. However, it cannot be over-emphasized that recruitment and outreach activities should not be initiated in a vacuum. They should be based on solid information on the needs of potential applicants and the ability of programs to meet those needs.

Assessment

This is no place for an extended discussion of alternative assessment techniques. Three useful Department of Labor publications do that more than adequately: Orientation, Counseling and Assessment in Manpower Programs (1969) and Methods of Assessing the Disadvantaged in Manpower Programs: A Review and Analysis (1973) contain most of what is known about testing in the context of employment and training programs as well as suggestions regarding the best techniques for the administration of tests, including their integration with other program components. Lee Bruno, CETA Program Models: Intake and Assessment (1978), describes and evaluates each client assessment tool available to prime sponsors and appraises their usefulness in the CETA context, depending upon the objectives of the program operator.

Though none of these sources explicitly direct their attention to assessment of a youth clientele, it appears obvious that more formal assessment will occur for youth than for more mature groups with more demonstrated work experience. From literature and experience, it would appear that there are emerging assessment techniques useful in youth programs if appropriate cautions are observed:

(1) Assessments can be used for three quite different purposes and it makes a difference what these are:

(a) As part of the decision making process for determining who gets admitted to a particular training program or work assignment or referred to a particular job.

(b) As part of the vocational exploration process, for both the youth and his counselors to get a better understanding of the youth's abilities, interests, and values.

(c) As part of an evaluation of program effectiveness.

(2) It is the client's future that is being decided, and the client has the right to full participation and ultimate judgment in those decisions. Vocational counselors have demonstrated that the best indication of the occupation which will prove most satisfactory to the individual in the long run is that which the individual finds most attractive regardless of test results, if there has been sufficient exposure to make such judgments. Assessment should be viewed as a component of client-centered life and career planning. Testing need not be dehumanizing nor should it be denied as a managerial tool for resource allocation and program operation, as long as the priorities are straight.

(3) Test results should not be permitted to limit unnecessarily the options available to the youth. Many tests are reasonably good measures of the threshold ability to perform a particular task, but scores beyond this threshold have little capacity to predict work or training performance. In such instances, the test scores should not be used beyond the level for which validity can be established.

(4) Tests can be used very profitably to increase understanding about how the characteristics of the individual relate to the requirements and satisfaction potential of available jobs and the problems that may be created by low test scores, including employer rejection. In some instances, it is useful to give the youth practice in test taking so that they can improve their scores and avoid unfair discrimination based on their lack of experience with particular types of tests.

(5) Tests can be used effectively for evaluating program effectiveness. Standardized reading tests as a measure of the effectiveness of remedial education programs is an obvious example. Tests can also provide useful measures of attitude change when this is a goal of a program.

Assessment remains one of the most difficult and complicated of all employment and training program components, and, yet, one of the most necessary. As long as there are more eligible applicants than resources, more than one potentially effective service and more than one alternative service deliverer, choices must be made. First come, first served is difficult to defend as a resource allocator. Interviewers' judgment is subject to all sorts of undefined personal bias. Neither provides a basis for relating client need to program mix. The relative competence of alternative service delivering agents is measurable by better assessments than power politics. Assessment techniques can be used for one or more of the purposes outlined above. But, how is it best conducted? Generally speaking, the following practices have been the most successful over the years:

- Existing records: Collect as many existing records as may be available on each youth enrolled in a program.

- Agency linkages: In order to accomplish the above, maintain close linkages with agencies, especially the schools, which are likely to maintain files on youthful enrollees.

- Testing: Testing can be useful in achieving self-understanding, in deciding the appropriate services for enrollees, helping enrollees understand the testing process (which would be of help to youth in applying for jobs with employers who use tests as a screening device), and for program evaluation purposes, but only if the assessor is competent and aware of the limitations of the tests and the testing process.

- Conducting tests: Tests are best conducted in conjunction with other program components, e.g., orientation, pre-vocational training, counseling, and so forth. Testing as a separate component of the intake process has contributed to high drop-out rates and generally has been ineffective.

But no assessment tool has yet been devised that can capture all of the nuances of personal motivation, that can test the reaction of the individual to experiences never yet experienced, nor that is fool proof, whether the fool is the assessor or the assessee. Assessment is a useful tool to be used with all due caution and healthy scepticism -- but used just the same.

CHAPTER 4

SUBSIDIZED EMPLOYMENT

The creation of job opportunities outside the normal processes of the labor market, either by direct public job creation of by subsidizing employment in private firms and institutions or public agencies has been one of the major strategies of attempts to alleviate youth unemployment. In 1974, for example, 70 percent of all employment and training program enrollees under 22, and 90 percent under 19 years of age were enrolled in work experience programs. Since the passage of CETA, and now with YEDPA, subsidized employment for youth has been expanded both absolutely and relatively.

Subsidized employment for youth was first initiated on a wide scale under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 which authorized the establishment of a Neighborhood Youth Corps for the employment of both in-school and out-of-school youth on community work projects. Under the same legislation, the Job Corps Conservation Centers provided experience in conservation work as well as training. Later, the Youth Conservation Corps, which operated as a pilot program for four years before attaining permanent status in the summer of 1975, offered summer employment for youth on public lands. Youth have also participated in subsidized employment programs not limited to the young, such as those of the National Alliance of Businessmen and those fostered by the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 and CETA.

Generally speaking, the types of subsidized employment programs in which youth have been enrolled can be categorized as:

(1) Work experience: Work activities outside the normal job structure designed to provide income and useful experience for in-school youth needing

financial support and motivation in order to complete their studies and out-of-school youth who lack experience in the customs and disciplines of the work place.

(2) Conservation activities: The employment of youth to perform conservation work on public lands.

(3) Public service employment: Federal subsidies to federal, state and local government agencies to cause them to expand their work forces and make the resulting jobs available to the target groups of federal programs.

(4) Subsidized private employment: Payments to private employers to encourage expansion of total hiring or allocation of existing openings to employ members of such target groups. Jobs may be created by contracting for the provision of public services or reallocated by subsidizing wages or other costs of employment.

Most of the available evaluative literature is on the first two categories -- work experience and conservation activities. Evaluative material on youth participation in public service employment and subsidized private employment is sparse. Private employment has been subsidized primarily through government assumption of training costs. Therefore, it fits best in the on-the-job training chapter. The intention announced in the proposed 1978 CETA amendments to pay direct wage subsidies for the hiring of youth is without significant precedent. This chapter reviews the experience of youth in work experience, conservation and public service employment.

OBJECTIVES OF SUBSIDIZED YOUTH EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

Rereading evaluations of youth employment and training programs is often a depressing exercise. However, the negative readings of program results may be as much a product of over-expectation as of under-performance. The expectations for youth job creation programs were high and had a decided effect on program evaluation. Evaluation is a process of identifying objectives and measuring the extent and cost of their achievement. Program objectives are hypotheses to program evaluators, and in many cases programs have been declared failures because the hypotheses did not test out. As in all experimental programs, however, that which is being tested often turns out to be less important than unanticipated results which could not be foreseen at the time the programs were initiated. Evaluators with their attention concentrated on declared objectives may overlook unexpected results of equal or greater value.

It should also be noted that research and evaluation, contrary to popular belief, did have an effect on public policy, at least with respect to job creation programs for youth. For example, early Neighborhood Youth Corps programs were largely restricted to work experience alone, whereas the NYC-2 program put more emphasis on skill training and supportive services and concentrated on 16 and 17 year old school dropouts. This shift in policy was a direct result of both in-house and contract evaluations. Whether the policy shift accomplished what was expected is another question, but it must be remembered that up to the present all efforts to alleviate youth unemployment have been experimental.

Nevertheless, in order to understand fully what the literature reveals about pact job creation efforts for youth, the declared purposes of the programs must be articulated. They were as follows:

(1) Reduce school dropouts: It was hypothesized that many poor youth needed extra income in order to complete their studies and that, in addition, by combining work experience with classroom study, the motivation to do well in school would be increased.

(2) Provide work experience: It was hypothesized that many out-of-school youth were caught in a vicious cycle -- they could not obtain "meaningful" jobs because they lacked work experience; yet, they could not get work experience without jobs. Subsidized employment was expected to fill this gap.

(3) Improve coping skills: It was hypothesized that many disadvantaged youth needed help in working under supervisors and with peers, controlling their impulses, and improving other personal attitudes and conduct which would make them more acceptable to employers and more able to perform satisfactorily on the job. Subsidized employment was seen as a means for achieving this end.

(4) Crime prevention: It was hypothesized that subsidized employment would provide career exploration opportunities for both in-school and out-of-school youth. Youth could sample employment in different occupational areas, thus helping them to make career decisions.

(6) Perform needed community work: It was hypothesized that the employment of youth on community work projects would result in community improvement as well as increasing their pride in their communities and in themselves for achieving worthwhile goals.

(7) Perform needed conservation work: It was hypothesized that needed conservation work on public lands could be performed through the temporary employment of youth, and that youth would take pride in that achievement.

Over and above all these purposes was the general economic goal to reduce youth unemployment, especially for non-white, disadvantaged youth who experience the highest unemployment rates of any group in the labor force.

Simply stating these objectives poses the difficulties inherent in determining whether they have been achieved and the existing literature reflects these difficulties. Since aging by itself increases the employment prospects of youth, isolating that impact from program related factors was especially difficult. Bona fide control groups were difficult to identify, and because of differences in client characteristics and economic conditions from program to program and area to area, inter-program comparisons often were irrelevant. Even where sophisticated research methods were employed, most of the emerging data is either "soft" or tainted, making it difficult to arrive at firm conclusions and identify the characteristics of successful programs.

This is a general problem for social research; it is not peculiar to evaluation of educational, employment and training programs. Nevertheless, it is a suitable warning for an attempt to extract significant findings from the available evaluative literature. The material that follows is an attempt to synthesize a relatively large body of research, involving a number of categorical programs and sub-programs within categories. It is divided into five sections: (1) Work Experience, (2) Conservation Activities, (3) Public Service Employment, and (4) Programs of Promise, followed by a summary which attempts to summarize both program failures and successes and factors which should be taken into consideration in designing future job creation programs for youth.

WORK EXPERIENCE

It is appropriate to separate work experience programs into those for in-school and out-of-school youth. Although their purposes are similar, one of the major purposes of in-school programs is to prevent youth from dropping out of school, a decision which has already been made by a large percentage of the clients of out-of-school programs. In addition, in-school enrollees tend to be younger and have different personal characteristics than out-of-school youth. For these reasons, the two programs are considered separately in this section.

In-School Work Experience

The overwhelming conclusion of existing literature is that neither in-school nor summer work experience programs in the traditional mold have long-term beneficial effects on enrollees. Given the complex nature of the dropout problem and the variety of social and personal factors which cause students to drop out, a series of General Accounting Office (GAO) reports found the work experience concept too simplistic an approach to bring about any dramatic results. Pines and Morlock, in Work Experience Perspectives (1978) conclude that "bare bones" work experience programs (which provide no more than a job) will not be effective for most youth. North Star's follow-up studies of 1144 rural youth who held part-time work experience jobs in high schools did not show measurable beneficial effects from participation in work experience programs (Miles, et al, 1973). National Longitudinal Survey data indicate that work experience demonstrates no particular advantage for girls enrolled in school (Years for Decision, 1977). Among Spanish youth in the Southwest and rural youth in the Southeast, North Star found that occupational success was not significantly related to whether they had worked part time in high school (Miles, et al, 1973, 1974). Department of Labor sponsored evaluations in general support the conclusion that work experience by itself has no appreciable effect on the employability of enrollees. Walther, in the Labor Department's most definitive analysis on various youth program strategies, notes that positive results were achieved only when work experience was directly relevant to a post-program job (1976).

However, the picture is not totally bleak. In a 1968 nationwide study of 60 in-school and summer Neighborhood Youth Corps projects, Somers and Stromsdorfer (1972) found that significant monetary benefits accrued to NYC in-school participants: "The average NYC participant earned a total of $831 more than his comparison group counterpart in the year and a half average period after the NYC participant left the program." The Systems Development Corporation's study of work education programs (1973) found that participants in the Vocational Education Part H Work Study program, discussed in the following chapter, remained in school longer than participants in other work experience programs.

In addition, Taggart (1976) classifies as "midly encouraging" the evidence concerning the impact of work experience on crime and delinquency. A study conducted in Detroit and Cincinnati found no evidence that delinquency was reduced, while a study conducted in Cincinnati and Durham concluded the exact opposite, finding that the number of charges against enrollees declined noticeably relative to controls, as did the severity of the offenses. A regression analysis of summer long funding levels and youth arrests in Washington, D.C. concluded that "an extra three summer slots will lead to one less reported

offense," supporting the notion (albeit with a very simplistic analysis) that summer youth programs help keep the streets safe. This finding applies to both in-school and out-of-school youth work experience programs.

Although the literature is conflicting, the majority of the evidence indicates that work experience for in-school youth has failed to live up to its expectations. But, as noted, that may be in part the fault of over-expectation. Levitan, Mangum and Marshall (1976) maintain that although NYC was:

> . . . ostensibly justified as a route to employability, (it) is primarily income maintenance accompanied by a minimum of useful activity. This does not mean that it is not desirable, only that it should be approached more honestly. Poor people need income and something at which to keep busy as a bridge between school enrollment and work or to help them at a vulnerable age when opportunities may be scarce. . . . The tendency over the years has been for the quality of the work experience to improve and the accompaniment of basic education to grow. There is evidence that the Neighborhood Youth Corps makes a positive contribution to employment.

What the authors seem to be saying is that we should lower our expectations, that the cultural, environmental and personal reasons why some youth drop out of school may be beyond the healing powers of simple work experience. If policy makers and program operators are at last ready to face this fact, the time may have arrived when the more profound reasons for school dropouts and youth labor market failure can be the subject of research. If this ever happens, it is almost certain that the results will indicate that solutions to many of these problems are beyond the scope of ordinary employment and training programs.

Out-of-School Work Experience

The major target group for out-of-school work experience programs are high school dropouts. Operated in its early years as a "no frills" work program, the NYC out-of-school program was regarded by sympathetic critics as an "aging vat;" or a holding action for youth until they matured into adulthood, at which time they would become employable and become absorbed in the labor force.

Some researchers, however, have disputed this view, maintaining that substantial gains in earnings accrue to work experience participants and that these gains increase as the participants remain in the program for longer periods of time.

Borus, Brennan and Rosen (1970), who performed a cost-benefit analysis of the out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps program, state as follows:

> The longer a youth has participated in the program, the more likely he is to have learned such desirable traits as getting to work on time, reporting regularly for work, neatness in appearance, ability to communicate with middle-class persons, ability to accept supervision, and ability to accept responsibility. These basic prerequisites to getting and keeping a job are often missing in the high school dropout from a poor family. In addition, we believe the longer an individual is in the program, the more acceptable he becomes to major employers. Employers who invest in training their employees want to minimize their turnover. Long-term participation in the NYC program may be considered by these employers to be an indication of stability.

Nevertheless, in 1970 the NYC program was modified because it was felt that work experience alone had little positive impact on employability. The redesigned program limited enrollment to 16-17 year old dropouts, de-emphasized work experience, strengthened supportive services, and added classroom components, such as training and remedial education.

A comparative study of the original and redesigned NYC programs in four cities concluded that: " . . . the redesigned NYC was not significantly more effective in improving the employability of its enrollees than (its) predecessor. . . . Indeed . . . study results suggested that the redesigned effort may have been less effective. (Walther and Magnussen 1975.)" More devastating was the finding that there were no significant differences between the employment outcomes of the experimental and control groups. Two major reasons given for the program's failure were: (1) by limiting the program to 16 and 17 year old dropouts, the program was populated mainly with poorly motivated individuals who, in a sense, fed on each other's faults; and (2) a lack of dedicated and competent staff in the program's later years.

The first is perhaps the most important of the two reasons. The evidence of seventeen years of research and evaluation indicates that whenever the hard core disadvantaged were segregated in any program, failure was almost inevitable. Not only did programs lose prestige in the eyes of employers and staff lose confidence in the effectiveness of the programs they were administering, the enrollees were denied the benefits and challenges inherent in mixing and competing with more motivated enrollees. This was the experience with the early Job Corps program and, to a lesser extent, with the MDTA Skill Center

program, as well as the basic finding of the famous Coleman report on school integration. The issue is not racial segregation but segregation by any handicapping condition -- physical, mental, motivational or attitudinal. The question is not whether or not the disadvantaged should be given priority in employment and training programs; they should. The issue is the best means of serving their needs. If one major goal of employment and training programs is to help individuals enter the mainstream of American life, it follows that the disadvantaged should have contact with those who are capable of entering the mainstream, be exposed to and have access to mainstream institutions but not be overwhelmed by them. More recent experience with the Job Corps and the Supported Work program cited below may suggest exceptions to that general rule, but only when offset by special efforts.

Several other program implications of the Walther-Magnussen research are worth noting. First, it was found that educational achievement had little impact on eventual employability unless work experience was supplemented with skills training and effective job development and placement efforts. Second, it was found that counseling, which had no effect on reversing employability patterns, cannot alone carry the burden of work experience programs. As Walther and Magnussen observed:

> Manpower programs have been consistently unsuccessful in generating motivation where none exists. The trick is to nurture motivation when it does occur, and a crucial element in doing this is to develop a program atmosphere and history of success. . . . Our research suggests the paradox that program administration may be doing a disservice to the very clients they want to serve if they follow selection and retention policies which overload the program with poorly motivated and low-achieving enrollees. The training objectives of these programs might be better served if the training group included some older, succeeding youth and if, provided that the opportunity for reenrollment is kept open to the poorly motivated enrollee to be used whenever he (or she) is ready, adequate performance is required for the youth to stay in the program.

The Walther-Magnussen study further documents not only the seriousness of the employment problems of youthful dropouts, but also the difficulty in successfully dealing with those problems. Regardless of how well work experience or other employment and training programs may be administered, their overall effect will be severely limited if there are shortages of jobs in the areas where they take place.

YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS ACTIVITIES

Two of the major components of YEDPA, the Young Adult Conservation Corps, and the Youth Conservation and Community Improvement Program specify conservation and community improvement work as their major focus. For this reason, previous experience with youth participation in conservation activities is germane to this review. The two most relevant programs have been the Job Corps Conservation Centers and the Youth Conservation Corps (YCC). Information on the conservation centers, separate from Job Corps as a whole, is scarce, and Job Corps is treated in the next chapter. Therefore, the literature concerning the YCC is the major source of this section. YCC, which is operated by the Departments of Agriculture and Interior and state governments, has three major objectives: (1) to accomplish needed conservation work on public lands; (2) to provide summer employment for youth between the ages of 15 and 18; and (3) to cultivate young people's understanding and appreciation of the environment. It operated for four years as a pilot program before attaining permanent status in 1975.

In its relatively short existence, YCC has achieved enormous popularity with sponsoring agencies and participants alike. However, although it is an avowed work-learning program, YCC bears only a tenuous relationship to traditional employment and training programs. Its major objectives are to accomplish work on public lands and increase environmental awareness. In the process, it provides summer employment and income for participants.

In addition, YCC is not only limited in terms of enrollment levels (approximately 40,000 participants nationwide in 1977 -- the highest to date), but it is also targeted so broadly that its impact upon any particular group or locality is difficult to determine. Rural youth, whites and Indians seem to have been proportionately over-represented in YCC, while urban youth and blacks have been consistently under-represented, despite a specific statutory mandate to provide employment in proportion to population. States have generally achieved better enrollment balances than federal agencies, but random recruitment procedures for the program as well as the lack of any eligibility criteria other than age, may have unnecessarily minimized the program's impact upon some target populations.

In 1971, well over half of all YCC participants were from families with annual incomes in excess of $10,000, but by 1975 this proportion had grown to two out of three enrollees. In 1976 only 7 percent of Department of Agriculture enrollees were black; the corresponding figures for the Department of the Interior and state governments were 9 percent and 11 percent. Of the 23,000 enrollees participating in the program in 1976, only 20 percent were residents of towns of 50,000 population or more.

Published analyses and evaluations of YCC generally appear to lack depth, although they may have filled statutory reporting requirements. Prior to 1975, evaluative reports concentrated almost exclusively on whether enrollees were socializing, enjoying their camping experience, and whether they were learning their ecological ABCs (many apparently were not). The reports failed altogether to address the work-related aspects of YCC, the development of work habits and skills, or the substantive issues connected with planning and administering YCC programs nationally.

Reports produced since the YCC achieved permanent status have not been much more substantial than those generated during the pilot period. Annual reports to Congress -- required of the Departments of Interior and Agriculture -- reflect a cheerleading approach that rarely addresses operational aspects of the program, such as quality of enrollee experiences or work site planning and supervision. The 1976 YCC report, which at the end of 1977 was still in draft form, was the first to attempt to analyze qualitative aspects of program operations, e.g., what approaches work best and why, the efficacy of various recruitment and selection procedures, project planning and coordination, and logistical problems. Yet, during the 15 month period between the end of the 1976 program and the preparation of the 1976 report, YCC underwent an approximate doubling of both funding and enrollment.

At the time this study was being conducted, no 1977 data were available other than total enrollment figures. However, Department of Interior officials have undertaken efforts to measure more precisely the effects of the program upon its enrollees, and their preliminary findings indicate that most enrollees show significant gains in maturation, communication skills, tolerance levels, and work attitudes.

Despite limitations of design and focus, and notwithstanding the absence of substantive evaluations of performance, YCC nevertheless appears to have provided worthwhile experiences for the relatively few youth fortunate enough to have participated in the program. Its popularity may be due in large part to the fact that YCC really has no long-term objective. It simply seeks to provide youth with hands-on experience, aims to make the experience as enjoyable and productive as possible, and makes no pretenses about placing youth in the permanent job market.

Nevertheless, experience in administering YCC does have implications regarding the initiation of similar programs under YEDPA, particularly the Youth Adult Conservation Corps.

Program Duration

Unlike the Youth Adult Conservation Corps (YACC), the Youth Conservation Corps is strictly a short-term summer program,

usually lasting eight weeks or less. It has not faced the problems of enrollee boredom which the year-round YACC will face, and disenchantment with repetitious manual work, not to mention the large groups of youth living and working together in remote areas and under extreme weather conditions. Many youth who willingly endured the discomfort and inconveniences of an eight-week summer YCC encampment might not have been inclined to stay with the program on an extended basis.

Enrollee Characteristics

YCC enrollees represent a broad cross-section of socio-economic backgrounds, and the experiences shared by youth from different orientations are seen to be one of the program's greatest benefits. YCC does make deliberate efforts, however, to screen out problem cases and mainstream youth from relatively well-to-do families have constituted the majority of YCC enrollment since the program's inception. Under YACC, on the other hand, the economic criteria for program eligibility will introduce a sharply different group of young people, with a sizable majority from economically disadvantaged backgrounds -- perhaps, once again repeating a frequent mistake of past employment and training programs.

Staff and Resources

Perhaps because of the short duration of YCC, camps managed to operate acceptably with staff who were not necessarily experienced in managing large groups or in dealing with human behavior. With YACC, improved staff selection and more intensive staff training will likely be needed. In addition, many YCC staff came from the ranks of teachers and others with experience in working with youth and also available for summer employment; this built-in pool of staff resources will not be available to YACC.

Implications for YCCIP

Although, because of the differences in program design, YCC experience is not particularly applicable to YCCIP, recent studies and experience tend to support the YCCIP concept. For example, the findings of the Ford Foundation review team (1977) generally support the idea that the involvement of young people in projects designed to accomplish visable and tangible objectives produces significant benefits both to participants and their communities. In addition, recent national experience with project-style employment under CETA Title VI has shown that such projects can be generated quickly and in virtually unlimited

quantities. Skills can be learned, interpersonal skills can be improved, and self-confidence can be nurtured through participation in such projects.

Summary

YACC can be expected to achieve many of the positive results now attributed to YCC -- maturity gains, improvements in communication with peers and elders, increases in tolerance levels, and improved attitudes toward work. It remains to be seen, however, whether YACC can replicate the current popularity and successful image of the Youth Conservation Corps.

With respect to YCCIP, the findings of the Ford Foundation review team (1977) generally support the idea of involving young people in projects designed to accomplish visable and tangible objectives. Moreover, recent national experience with project-style employment under CETA Title VI has shown that such projects can be generated quickly and in virtually unlimited quantities. Skills can be learned, interpersonal skills can be improved, and self-confidence can be nurtured through participation in such projects. These findings apply to both youth and adults.

PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT

In marked contrast to the short-term, unskilled, and relatively low-paying jobs created under the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Emergency Employment Act funded "transitional" entry jobs at the state, city, and county levels. Youth under 22 accounted for between a fifth and a sixth of non-summer participants. They were employed in jobs that averaged $5,500 a year plus the substantial fringe benefits available in the public sector. There was a wide distribution of occupations, with youth over-represented in fire protection, environmental protection, and parks and recreation and under-represented in social services, education and health and hospitals. Evaluations have suggested that most EEA jobs were "meaningful," that is, fully integrated and compatible with regular operations, usually positions that could not be funded because of budget stringencies (Levitan and Taggart, 1973). These jobs were a mixture of entry level or training slots, para-professional opportunities, regular blue collar and secretarial jobs, and a few middle-management positions. The jobs for younger enrollees were probably more of the trainee, para-professional, and entry-blue-collar types, but they were far more substantial than NYC jobs.

The average annual earnings of males under 22 rose from $2,210 in the year prior to entry to $5,060 in the year after termination. This 140 percent increase exceeded the 90 percent

gain of all males, while the $2,940 improvement of youths exceeded the adults' absolute gain. In contrast to the earnings gains of training programs, which came primarily as a result of increased labor force participation and reduced unemployment rates, youthful EEA enrollees experienced dramatically improved quality as well as quantity of employment. The average wage of the youth cohorts in their last jobs prior to EEA was $2.62 an hour, compared to $3.39 in the first job subsequent to it. This 30 percent improvement exceeded that for all other males. Employment also rose and continued at high levels. Where only two-fifths of the under-22 participants were employed a year before entry, four-fifths had jobs a year later and seven out of ten two years later.

These positive results must be tempered by the realization that EEA participants were not, on the average, as disadvantaged as those in other employment and training programs. Nevertheless, it appears that the jobs held by youths in the public sector were far more likely than other work experience jobs to provide them with the credentials or experience needed to impress private sector employers. It was a way to help overcome the stereotyped view that many private sector employers have of younger workers.

PROGRAMS OF PROMISE

In addition to programs under CETA and YCC, the results of several other work experience experiments appear to have useful implications for the future.

Chief among these are the impressive early results of several career education and exploration models funded by the National Institute of Education. Since these are conceived as educational more than work experience programs, they are reviewed in Chapter 4.

Other programs and planning techniques including Project 70,001, various Urban League projects, ACTION's programs for local service, NAB's Vocational Exploration in the Private Sector (VEPS) and the National Supported Work Demonstration all seem to offer useful complements to the present body of knowledge about effective youth programming.

Project 70,001 was founded by the Thom McAn Shoe Company and is now a national organization promoted by the Distributive Education Clubs of America (DECA), which provides technical assistance and other services to 70,001 programs. Basically the program is a combined work experience/classroom program in distributive education, with the work experience jobs provided by industry.

ACTION's programs for local service feature the use of college and university students to provide needed services in communities throughout the country. Students, under the direction of a school coordinator, work in community agencies to provide direct services to needy individuals.

One Urban League program in California is conducted in conjunction with the National Guard. Disadvantaged individuals who apply for the National Guard are identified and given special remedial and job training services both before and after their service in the Guard.

VEPS and Supported Work are particularly worthy of mention.

Vocational Exploration in the Private Sector

Originally initiated in 11 cities in 1971 as a one-year pilot program, VEPS was designed as a career exploration and training program for 16-year-old, in-school NYC enrollees who were potential dropouts. The main departure from the regular NYC program was that VEPS enrollees were placed at private sector work stations and received intensive counseling. NYC paid a portion of enrollee wages. The purpose of this joint effort of the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) was to reduce the high school dropout rate, upgrade the skill level of youth entering the labor market, and provide a private sector environment in which to promote transition from school to work. The apparent success of the project in the first year resulted in the program's expansion to 11 other selected cities in 1972.

Findings from research conducted by Sprengel and Tomey (1974) in the pilot cities revealed a significant positive impact on the reduction of absenteeism and dropout rates and improvement in the academic performances of participants. In addition, enrollees had significantly fewer incidents with school authorities and the police than in previous years.

Ultimately, enrollees in the VEPS program in its first year had an impressive positive outcome rate, as shown below:

Outcome	Percent
Remained at VEPS employer	37.2
Other private sector work	4.3
Higher education	6.2
Returned to NYC	20.9
Not working	4.3
Military	2.3
VEPS-II	22.9
Other	1.9

Several lessons were provided by the VEPS experience which have particular application for policy at the national and local levels. First, the success and experience of the VEPS program dispel the notion that wages paid to enrollees in private sector work sites are a subsidy which should be prohibited. In fact, employers not only failed to get rich from these limited wage subsidies but viewed the subsidy as only a partial offset to significant extraordinary costs which they incurred in providing part-time work experience and career exploration to disadvantaged youth. Safeguards can be designed to prevent abuse of the wage subsidy.

Second, the VEPS program was found to be a supplement to cooperative work study programs operated by local school systems in which the students are paid by private employers from their own funds. Although they are an effective asset, these work study programs often exclude all but low-risk students. Third, a VEPS model provided exposure to a broad range of job opportunities in the private sector which many youth would never have imagined, much less gained access to. Indeed, results of the study showed that for a substantial proportion of enrollees, VEPS eventually led to permanent employment with the private employer.

A fourth lesson demonstrated by VEPS was the importance of having a program staff which a private employer could turn to for aid when a problem arose on the job concerning the enrollees. This backup capability was a great source of reassurance to the employer and was a necessity for the enrollees' successful transition from school to work.

Under CETA, the VEPS concept is getting new life as a Title III nationally funded program. In the summer of 1976, a limited demonstration was mounted in nine cities with NAB and the Human Resource Development Institute, AFL-CIO (HRDI) as sponsoring organizations. This was considerably expanded for the summer 1977, and prime sponsors were encouraged to develop local VEPS programs with summer Title III dollars. Interpretations of the legislation preclude the use of this strategy in Title I activities. Given the serious youth labor market crisis and the limited opportunity for formal transition of youth from school to work, prime sponsors might look to the new youth initiatives programs as a possible legislative and financial resource to fund expanded VEPS models.

Supported Work

As has been noted previously and will be noted again with respect to institutional training and on-the-job training programs, the segregation of severely disadvantaged youth into special programs usually results in failure. However, there have been several programs designed for the severely disadvantaged which appear to contradict this general thesis. Perhaps

the most important of these is the national supported work demonstration program, conducted by the Manpower Development Research Corporation (MDRC), which began operations in the spring of 1975. An evaluation of the project is now being conducted by Mathematica Policy Research Corporation in cooperation with the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin. A final appraisal of the program will have to await the completion of that evaluation, but preliminary data indicate that the program is having a beneficial effect on its severely disadvantaged enrollees, youth and non-youth. The material which follows is based on a paper prepared by MDRC in August 1977 for the Employment and Training Administration.

Overview

Supported work is a transitional, structured employment experience for men and women who have encountered serious difficulties in obtaining and retaining employment in the conventional labor market. As the participants gain work experience and establish an employment record, performance demands are increased and they are prepared for placement in the regular job market. The project is being conducted in 15 locations throughout the country. Its target group includes ex-addicts, ex-offenders, long-term welfare mothers, and unemployed youth from low-income families.

Supported work is an employment program. While counseling, vocational training, and other forms of psychological or social assistance may be part of individual demonstration projects, the emphasis is on work experience. Thus, the program is consonant with prevailing public sentiment about the need to reduce dependency through jobs. At the same time, it provides opportunities for useful work to people generally considered to be outside the range of employability and the delivery of goods and services to the public at large.

Two years of operating experience indicate that a heretofore extremely difficult population can be successfully recruited and placed in supported work jobs. Of the 1800 participants enrolled in March 1977, over 55 percent were receiving some form of transfer payments at the time of their enrollment; 20 percent had never worked before and of those who had, the average length of time worked in the six months prior to enrollment was about eight weeks; over 60 percent had not completed high school; youth had spent an average of over nine months in penal institutions, and ex-offenders and ex-addicts, each averaging 4 adult convictions, had spent about 3.5 years behind bars. Yet these participants have remained in the program on the average for over 8 months, and during that time their attendance rate was nearly 82 percent. Of those who have left, over 20 percent were fired for inadequate

performance, but more than 1000 participants had graduated from the program and either have gone on to jobs in the regular labor market or returned to school.

Approximately 40 percent of the in-program jobs created for participants can be classified as "services," including food delivery, building maintenance, day care, and security services. An equal amount of work is being performed in construction related activities, such as painting, home winterization and lead paint removal. The remainder of the work sites usually involve either manufacturing or retail trade. Most of the work is performed under contract to public and private nonprofit agencies. While some participants are placed in traditional on-the-job training settings, the majority of work sites are managed and supervised directly by local program staff.

The Youth Population

As of May 1977, 750 youth had participated in the demonstration. Of this group, 96 percent had no high school degree or equivalency, and the average participant had completed less that eight years of formal education. Ninety-four percent had no prior manpower or vocational training. Almost 60 percent were receiving some form of public assistance upon enrollment, and one out of four were living in public housing. Over half had had previous contact with the criminal justice system, and 30 percent were on probation at the time of their entrance into the program. Almost 50 percent had never worked before and of those who had, the longest period worked on a previous job was less than six months (and on the average the length of time since holding a full time job was over one year).

In spite of the poor prognosis for work that these background data indicate, youth performance to date in supported work has been promising. The youth attendance rate is 75 percent, which, though lower than the rate of 82 percent for all target groups, surpasses planning expectations. Youth rates of terminations for cause and resignations are about equal to those of ex-offenders and ex-addicts. However, the rate of suspensions is much higher for youth, suggesting the possibility that programs are quicker to give youths a second chance than ex-offenders or ex-addicts. This also may explain in part why the average length of stay in the program for youth is almost 9 months, a month longer than for offenders and addicts. Of the youth who have left the program, 23 percent have obtained permanent employment or returned to school as compared to nearly 30 percent for the other target groups. Interestingly, the "returned to school" designation accounts for a very small percentage of these positive terminations among the youth participants.

The majority of operators at the local sites agree that motivational and performance difficulties associated with youth

are among their most severe operational problems. But there is disagreement on how best to resolve these issues. Some argue that programs dealing with youth should not contain other target groups, thereby allowing operators to concentrate totally on their special problems. Others assert the opposite, that the role models provided by older, more experienced workers are essential for the younger, less stable employees. Some operators contend that the problems of youth may not be particularly different from those of other hard to employ groups and that a well structured program with quality work sites providing meaningful work, training, and opportunities for permanent transition is the key to success with all target populations. Other combinations of program treatment are being attempted with youth, such as the inclusion of remedial education and institutional job training in the basic work experience format. What is clear is that definitive answers to these or other questions concerning the most effective methods for dealing with youth are not yet at hand.

Although it is clearly premature to classify the youth component of the supported work experiment as an unqualified success, sufficient data and experience have been obtained to provide some useful operating lessons regarding manpower programs for disadvantaged youth:

1. Large numbers of youth who have been viewed traditionally as unemployable or unwilling to work are, in fact, anxious to work and capable of working. In the national experiment the number of volunteers has far exceeded the available slots and efforts by local program operators to develop recruitment and referral sources for youth participants have not been difficult.

2. Individuals who have been written off as unemployable can work productively and customers are prepared to pay for the goods and services they produce. This finding has policy implications beyond the fact that such individuals have untapped potential. It means that supported work and its progeny might reduce the net public subsidy for government funded training and employment programs by charging a reasonable amount for the goods and services produced by participants while in the program.

3. None of the demonstrations is solely a youth program and, for the most part, the actual work crews are mixed. Although program operators have in most instances tried to bend their internal policies to accommodate youth's special needs, the presence of other target groups and certain of the research-required program guidelines produce practical constraints on this practice. Thus, the relatively good performance of supported work youth has been in program settings not specifically shaped for their exclusive needs. It might, therefore, be desirable to develop supported work type programs solely for youth, focusing on youth-oriented programmatic features to a greater degree than the current program does.

4. Many youth, particularly in the 16 to 19 age group, do not maintain interest in any one job for extended periods. Several of the supported work programs report that the youth target group is most likely to request transfer to other types of work crews. These requests for transfer, unlike the transfer requests of the offender and addict groups, seem unrelated to performance. The programs conclude that the requests are a function of the youthful desire to try a number of work experiences before settling down to a career choice. Thus, an effective youth work program must be able to accommodate this desire for variety if it is not to lose prematurely some portion of its youth work force.

This observation leads to the conclusion that emphasis should be placed on the development of work sites with widely varying tasks, skill requirements, and work environment, and the implementation of program structure and incentive systems which allow participants some choice and variety in work experience. Most of the current programs with youth have developed a wide variety of work sites. Of the 300 youth presently enrolled, 115 are engaged in construction related activities including rehabilitation, painting, lead paint removal, and demolition; 65 work in manufacturing or assembly operations such as furniture manufacturing, repair, and refinishing, tire recapping, and product packaging; 50 are engaged in maintenance activities including buildings, parks, and other public works; 30 are involved in clerical projects including secretarial, bookkeeping, library and storekeeper aides; 25 function in retail operations such as gas stations, printing, and restaurants; and 15 are in automobile maintenance and repair. The programs which combine variety in work opportunities with structured systems for permitting individuals to move among work sites have had significantly higher youth attendance and performance rates than those few whose work sites are highly concentrated in particular kinds of activities.

5. The quality of supervision at the work site is a significant variable which may have a greater impact on youth performance than even the type of work itself. In addition, the early data indicate that supervisors who have experience or training in the specific work activity which they are supervising and who maintain strict performance standards at their work sites are the most effective with participants. This finding points to the need for development of careful standards in hiring supervisors and the precise structuring of measurable productivity goals at work sites. Work contracts which provide host agency supervision should probably be discouraged until a youth has completed at least several months of program supervised work.

6. Youth appear to be more difficult to place in permanent jobs at the conclusion of their supported work experience than are the other target groups. As noted above, the

percentage of youth being successfully placed is below that of the other participants in the demonstration. In addition, the average wage they receive upon placement is approximately $3.10, 85 cents below that of offenders and addicts. Of the youth so far placed, 48 percent have received starting wages between $2 and $3. What these statistics may indicate is that some youth may need longer periods of supported work than do the ex-offenders and ex-addicts in order to compensate for their prior lack of the kind of social and work behavior demanded by employers.

The current graduation limit of 12 to 18 months in the supported work demonstration might in some cases be extended to two or more years in order to provide sufficient work experience and work socialization to better prepare youth for permanent placement. This might be combined with the development of several work sites with guaranteed roll-over to permanent jobs, thereby enabling some youth to develop an identifiable career path through and out of their supported work experience. For youth in the older age bracket, 19 to 21, who are more likely to be married and parents and therefore more inclined to want to choose a career, this type of career-oriented work experience may be particularly attractive. An effective youth program should be able to accommodate this need for career orientation, as well as the desire for job experimenting described above.

7. Not every unemployed youth is ready for or wants to become permanently employed. Some effort should be made to combine work experience with continued or renewed education or even to encourage those who would prefer a full-time return to school. As noted, the percentage of supported work youth who return to school is negligible. The program was not designed with a strong emphasis in this direction, and the majority of local programs consider permanent job placement as their foremost goal. For example, while the national design does permit the use of up to 25 percent of program time for ancillary services (including remedial education), time spent in ancillary services among youth has averaged about 5 percent. It would seem appropriate for some programs to experiment with combinations of formal education and employment so that those participants who wish to could complete schooling while still fully participating in a structured work experience program. Such a program would likely involve a 50/50 split between school and work and would require coordination with a receptive school system, something which for experimental purposes the current demonstration sites have not been encouraged to do.

8. The experience with supported work indicates that youth work best in small peer groups. Individual placements in host agencies have not generally been successful because

the participant loses contact and a sense of identity with the program. Large work crews of 15 to 20 or more do not, on the other hand, provide adequate opportunity for individual attention and training. The data indicate that the optimum crew size is approximately 4 to 7, depending on the type of work. Crews of the smaller size are more appropriate for work requiring some skill development and individual direction such as construction. Larger crews of up to 7 and 8 can be effective in lower skill operations such as building maintenance or on work sites confined to a small area such as printing or furniture repair.

Conclusion

The preliminary experience with regard to supported work for youth indicates that there is good reason to believe that the historical intransigence of this group will yield to careful effort, and that under certain conditions it is possible to design programs exclusively for severely disadvantaged individuals. Three factors with regard to the above discussion ought to be kept in mind, however: (1) enrollees can be fired for non-performance, (2) enrollees can be suspended for a variety of reasons, and (3) the attempt is made to create an atmosphere of success, and part of that atmosphere is that enrollees must meet carefully established standards -- standards which not only maintain an aura of program quality, but also provide enrollees with an opportunity to experience genuine accomplishment. This is a departure from the permissive policies of the 1960s. If 20 percent of the enrollees can be fired for cause, as has happened in the supported work programs, the 80 percent left may be sufficiently motivated to not only benefit from the program but also provide each other with mutual support without the distraction caused by a large group of poorly motivated and potentially trouble making enrollees. This subject is further discussed in Chapter 5, especially with regard to the Job Corps experience.

DESIGN SUMMARY

The experience of the past seems to indicate that the mere provision of jobs to youth, without program enrichment, is not effective in reducing school dropouts, encouraging youth to return to school, or in improving the employability of youth. It does provide income for needy youth and some work experience during the difficult years of transition to adulthood. It also relieves the acute unemployment problems of youth by taking them out of the labor market. Although the evidence is mixed, it also appears that subsidized employment for youth has some effect in reducing juvenile crime rates.

However, these are overall conclusions which do not tell us a great deal about the characteristics of youth employment and training programs which have achieved above average

performance. The literature is replete with examples of programs which have had a decided positive effect on the employability of their clients and, in some cases, in reducing the incidence of dropouts, improving school performance, and in encouraging clients to return to school. Thus, there are lessons to be drawn from past experience -- lessons which should be kept in mind in designing new employment and training programs for youth. The "do's and don'ts" listed below summarize these lessons. They apply to all types of subsidized employment programs, including those for in-school and out-of-school youth, and those which involve conservation-type work programs as well as the newer urban work programs.

(1) Program Enrollment

Do not overload programs with unmotivated, seriously disadvantaged youth. The experience of the past indicates that by concentrating solely on the least employable youth, built-in failure is apt to result. If, however, programs are designed for specific severely disadvantaged target groups, make certain that high standards are maintained and that those who deliberately and wilfully fail to meet those standards (as opposed to those who, although well motivated, have personal difficulties in meeting standards) can either be terminated or suspended from programs.

Do attempt to achieve a balance in enrollment with respect to age, sex, race and socio-economic status. Or, if solely disadvantaged enrollees are enrolled, attempt to weed out those who appear to be disruptive or to be using the program as just another "hustle."

(2) Job Quality

Do not place enrollees in ill-defined jobs which require little supervision, make few demands on the enrollee, and which have little relationship to the real world of work.

Do devote adequate attention to the design of jobs in which enrollees will be placed and include on-the-job training components for each job. Try as much as possible to place enrollees on real jobs or jobs which exist but cannot be filled because of budget stringencies. Attempt to develop as many jobs as possible with interested private sector employers (as in the VEPS program) and with non-profit private employers (as in the supported work program).

(3) Supervision

Do not hire staff who are inexperienced in supervising young workers or who lack the capacity to demand substantial performance from enrollees.

Do employ staff who have a rapport with youth yet, without being overly strict, will demand that good work habits be observed on the job, and who have sufficient expertise in the work being performed to train the youthful enrollees. Consideration should also be given to establishing small work groups for youthful enrollees, especially those under 18, and providing for transfers to different job assignments from time to time.

(4) Coping Skills

Do not neglect the development of skills, other than those of an experiential or skills nature, that employers demand of their employees.

Do concentrate on such skills as developing and executing plans, working with others, controlling impulses, processing and interpreting information, communicating, problem solving, and working within an authority structure.

(5) Supportive Services

Do not neglect client needs that cannot be served solely by the work projects.

Do build in adequate counseling and placement services for enrollees and, where appropriate, related classroom instruction or skills training.

(6) Program Atmosphere

Do not allow programs to become mere "make work" for idle youth.

Do attempt to create an atmosphere of success by helping enrollees establish reputations as good workers, placing completers in non-subsidized jobs and maintaining high standards during the course of the programs themselves.

Above and beyond these "do's and don'ts" which appear to be nothing more than common sense, the following types of subsidized employment programs for youth appear to yield results over and above the average:

(1) Career Exploration: Subsidized employment programs which allow youth to sample employment in a variety of occupational areas. With respect to in-school programs, such programs are often coordinated in special classes for program participants.

(2) Private Sector Work Project: Subsidized employment programs, such as VEPS, which place enrollees in jobs with private sector employers. The success of VEPS indicates that further experimentation in this area (particularly with YEDPA Subpart 3 funds) are in order.

(3) Specific Occupational Work Projects: Subsidized employment programs which offer work experience in specific occupational areas. With respect to in-school training, the work experience is integrated with classroom instruction; with respect to out-of-school programs, the work experience zeros in on occupations which are in demand in local communities and are designed to prepare enrollees for these jobs.

Perhaps, the most important lesson to be learned from the past is that subsidized employment programs for youth -- in order to reach their maximum potential -- must gain the respect of employers, both public and private, and the community in general. In order for this to occur, standards must be maintained and an atmosphere of overall program success must be achieved.

CHAPTER 5

CLASSROOM OR INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING

At the dawning of the 1960s, vocational education as shaped by the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, and its successors, along with the labor exchange function of the federal-state Employment Service was the manpower program of the United States. In fact, one of the justifications for the passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA), which formed the basis for current federal employment and training policy, was that the vocational education system had become obsolete. There were allegations that students were being trained in occupations which were no longer in demand, and that the entire system suffered from a lack of modern equipment, rundown facilities, and conservative administration. Instructional techniques, it was charged, had failed to keep up with the times, and vocational education administrators and instructors were reluctant to enroll the disadvantaged, handicapped, and other youth who faced serious educational and employment problems. One of the major objectives of MDTA was to correct this situation for out-of-school youth and adults, even though it had to rely on the same staff and facilities. Following on the heels of MDTA came the Vocational Education Act of 1963 which sought basic reforms in the nation's system of vocational education. Finally, in 1964, the most ambitious of all training programs for youth -- the Job Corps -- was mandated as part of the Economic Opportunity Act. This classroom or institutional training emphasis was accompanied on a smaller scale by the first significant federal subsidization of on-the-job training in peacetime.

On-the-job training differs from subsidized employment in that public funds are not used to pay enrollee wages, although they may be used to reimburse employers for training and other costs related to hiring from the target groups. On-the-job training was initially authorized under MDTA, but, partly

because of labor union opposition, the program did not become fully operational until two years after the Act was passed. Later, different forms of on-the-job training, such as New Careers, were authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act, and in 1968 amendments to the Vocational Education Act mandated set asides for cooperative education and work study, two forms of on-the-job training for in-school youth. The 1968 amendments also mandated set asides for vocational education programs for the disadvantaged and the handicapped.

Out of all this activity emerged three generic components of employment-related training programs: (1) pure classroom training; (2) pure on-the-job training; and (3) coupled institutional/on-the-job training. With respect to classroom training, four definable sub-components emerged: (1) orientation; (2) pre-vocational training; (3) skills training; and (4) remedial education (including English as a second language).

In addition, various methods of delivering institutional and on-the-job training evolved. In the early days, most enrollees in institutional training programs were enrolled in class size, single occupation programs. Later, the multi-occupational concept emerged, under which numerous occupations could be listed for one project, with estimates of the number of enrollees for each occupational training course and total costs for all. Shortly after the multi-occupational project appeared, it was recommended that where possible these programs be housed in a single training center, or "skills center," which could be supported by a continuation of such projects, could provide needed supportive services, and could concentrate on the needs of program clients. The Job Corps offered a program of complete remediation and comprehensive services to its youthful clients, and the MDTA individual referral program permitted the enrollment of clients in existing training institutions, both private and public, on an individual basis.

The delivery of on-the-job training differed primarily by the agents or sponsors who were funded to develop on-the-job training slots and complete contracts with employers. In the early days of the program, sponsors included organizations such as the Urban League, community based organizations, the Employment Service and other state agencies. Later, a few unions sponsored pre-apprenticeship programs, using MDTA on-the-job training funds. With the initiation of the Comprehensive Employment Program (CEP), community action agencies began to receive an increasing share of on-the-job training funds. However, the biggest shift in the delivery of on-the-job training came with the establishment of the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) in 1968. The formation of NAB was, in effect, a commitment by some of the nation's largest and most prestigious employers to hire the disadvantaged, train them on the job, and

cooperate with other public and private agencies in providing training, remedial education and supportive services to program enrollees. It was only natural that with such a commitment from the private sector, priority for the provision of on-the-job training shifted to NAB. However, NAB was formed during a period when the nation's economy was relatively healthy and businessmen were experiencing difficulties in recruiting workers. When economic conditions worsened in the 1970s, the viability of the NAB approach declined.

This chapter examines the experience in providing training in classroom settings. Chapter 6 describes the on-the-job training experience. The coupling of the two program components is considered in the OJT chapter. This chapter divides its discussion between skills training for disadvantaged out-of-school youth, similar training for those in school and non-skills training.

TRAINING FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH

Perhaps the most important fact bearing on the performance record of institutional training for out-of-school youth and adults is that, on the best evidence available, the average institutional enrollee under MDTA had experienced increased earnings of about $1,250 a year because of enrollment in the program. Though data are less precise, there is reason to believe that a similar increase in earnings has been experienced by Job Corps enrollees. The problem with the Job Corps, particularly in its earliest days, was the high cost involved in maintaining residential centers. Cutting some "frills" and the introduction of non-residential centers reduced the cost of the Job Corps considerably.

The evidence also indicates that classroom training under manpower programs has contributed to needed change in vocational education. Class size, remedial institutional training was an innovation, but it limited the range of occupational choice and provided few supportive services to enrollees. Skills centers, multi-occupational projects and the Job Corps, which experimented on a wide scale with techniques specifically designed for the disadvantaged, were more promising developments. Although these institutions were not the inventors of on-site counseling, cluster training, open-entry/open-exit individualized and modularized instruction and basic education linked to skill training, they nevertheless enhanced the development of these concepts and broadened their exposure within vocational education.

Vocational education for in-school youth, including the disadvantaged and handicapped, is a good deal more difficult to evaluate, primarily because in-school students do not have

prior or subsequent employment histories that can be used for comparison purposes. Longitudinal studies provide information on differences between the post-school earnings of students enrolled in vocational and academic curricula, but because of the different nature of the jobs obtained by vocational and academic students, such information is not of much use in assessing the effectiveness of either curriculum. Data relating to the post-school earnings of students enrolled in various types of vocational education programs, such as cooperative education and work study, are available and useful and will be noted where appropriate.

Occupational training for out-of-school youth may be divided between the complete remediation approach typical of the Job Corps and the non-residential approach of MDTA.

Complete Remediation

The total immersion of enrollees in a rehabilitative setting was the ambition of the Job Corps. Its original model was military training without the compulsion of conscription or fixed enlistment terms. Its presumption was that there were youth living in such debilitating circumstances that gaining the attributes of employability was unlikely without removal to a more positive environment. Not only occupational skills but life skills of group living, grooming and so forth were to be gained in the residential centers and from housekeeping assignments shared by the enrollees. Perhaps because of the initial publicity it received, the Job Corps was one of the most controversial of all employment and training programs launched during the hectic 1960s. The controversy generally centered on the high cost of the program and whether the benefits derived were worth the program's cost.

The Program

The Job Corps has been restricted to youth between the ages of 16 and 21 and in its earliest days was strictly residential in nature. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, non-residential Job Corps Centers evolved. In all, four types of Job Corps Centers were created:

(1) Large, residential "urban centers" which offer multi-occupational training, remedial education, counseling, guidance, recreation, health and other services to its clients.

(2) Women's residential centers which offer the same services as those provided by urban centers to female enrollees.

(3) Residential "conservation centers" which share some of the characteristics of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of the 1930s; enrollees divide their time between remedial and skill training, classroom instruction and work in national parks and other conservation areas.

(4) Non-residential centers.

In contrast to MDTA, which used for its training agents the public schools, along with occasional private schools and community-based organizations, Job Corps assigned training responsibilities to private companies, universities and government conservation agencies. The reasons were in part political -- attachment to private entreprises would make the program less assailable -- but there was also an assumption of greater training capability and hope of cycling completers directly into employment with the firms operating the centers. The target group for Job Corps was "hard core" unemployed youth. Its avowed purpose was to take poor youths, remove them from their debilitating environments, and provide them with comprehensive services to improve their employability. As will be noted below, many critics of the programs charged that by concentrating solely on the least employable youth, and attempting to achieve remediation in what were often termed "permissive atmospheres," the Job Corps often created worse environments than those from which the enrollees originally came.

Costs of Complete Remediation

In fiscal 1974, the direct cost per enrollee-year was $6,800 and indirect costs (capital expenses and federal overhead) pushed the total to $9,200. As many critics pointed out, this was more than it cost to educate a youth for one year in the most prestigious universities of the land. The defense was that if the program worked, the benefits to society would more than make up for the high costs. Since the answers to this question were at best conflicting, budget ceilings were imposed in 1967. "Extras" such as recreation activities, expensive counseling, long trips, and some other services were eliminated, which held direct costs constant and reduced them by a third in real terms. Further economies, however, could only come by cutting back essential services, or by the elimination of residency altogether. Total remediation for the severely disadvantaged is simply an expensive proposition.

The Problem of Recruitment

Potential enrollees in the nation's ghettos and depressed rural areas did not exactly storm the doors to enroll in Job Corps. The problem of filling Job Corps slots remained a perplexing one until the nature of the program changed in the 1970s.

This was often blamed on the Employment Service, the agency responsible for Job Corps recruiting, but when contracts were let with private recruiters (or "bounty hunters" as they were called within the Job Corps administration), the results were not much better. The difficulties in recruiting enrollees for the Job Corps were based primarily on three factors: (1) a reluctance on the part of many potential enrollees to leave their homes; (2) parental reservations due to often exaggerated horror stories about life in Job Corps centers; and (3) the high dropout rate of the program which kept the pressure on recruiters to find "new bodies."

The Dropout Problem

No other employment and training program of the 1960s experienced a dropout rate as high as the Job Corps. Since the object of the program was to provide complete remediation for severely disadvantaged youths, the amount of time enrollees remained in the program was critical to its success. Complete remediation takes time, yet in 1974, one-fourth of the program's enrollees dropped out after less than 30 days, and half did not finish the three months considered a minimum for completion. The average duration of enrollment, 5.5 months, was only a half-month higher than in 1967. Non-residential centers and urban centers drawing on area residents tried to combat the "home-sickness" presumed to cause high dropout rates, but completion rates were no higher in these centers and absenteeism was a major problem.

Though the cause and cure of the high dropout rates has not been positively identified, one hypothesis is that the behavioral and program performance standards set by Job Corps Centers were too lax to assure the weeding out of enrollees who were disruptive and who were either indifferent or contemptuous of the services available at Job Corps Centers. This, in turn, resulted in the retaining of enrollees who, in a very real sense, intimidated the more motivated and less aggressive enrollees, causing them to drop out.

Taking into consideration the era during which Job Corps was initiated, it is understandable that program administrators would be reluctant to terminate enrollees for cause. Much of the rhetoric of the period centered on the plight of disadvantaged youths who had been "pushed out" of school. It was felt that the Job Corps could not allow itself to become susceptible to similar criticism. Yet, if the target population is to be the severely disadvantaged, consideration must be given to the effect unmotivated and anti-social enrollees can have on the majority who are truly interested in improving their labor market status. This is a lesson that the supported work program, discussed in the previous chapter, apparently has taken to heart.

Current pilot studies conducted by Planning and Human Systems, Inc. (1978), are testing several hypotheses regarding Job Corps drop-out rates. The first seeks to determine whether home leave granted after 45 days would decrease the early drop out rate. The second is investigating the effects of different allowance structures on length of stay in the program. Initial data indicate that early home leave does not improve trainee retention rates, morale, or attitudes. On the contrary, it causes substantial increases in recruitment and operational costs and tends to create administrative confusion. With respect to variations in allowance levels, on the other hand, the data show a direct relationship between retention rates and the total amount of living allowance offered by each center. Centers offering the highest allowance payments have the best retention rates. For example Pine Ridge offering $705, had the best retention record; Columbia Basin, offering $585, had the second best record; and Phoenix, offering only $125, suffered severe retention problems.

Other factors listed as contributing to high drop out rates were:

(1) Disappointment because of the unavailability of desired training, as well as severe disappointment relative to built-up expectations as to the characteristics of Job Corps programs,

(2) The limited scope of skill offerings at some centers, and

(3) The requirement for remedial training prior to skills training in some trades such as plumbing, carpentry, and masonry.

To overcome these factors, the researchers suggest a need for improved communications, including pamphlets which highlight both the difficulties and rewards of Job Corps. Also suggested are trial visits to nearby centers for first-hand observations by potential recruits, applied research to identify employment markets and the best mix of courses that centers could offer in reference to them, and research to identify components of highly skilled trades which could be learned and performed with minimal remedial training.

The researchers also note that the Congress has mandated a number of new training programs, especially under CETA, which are legislatively required to pay the minimum wage of $2.65 per hour. In contrast, the Job Corps stipend of $1.00 per day (fixed since 1966), even though accompanied by certain in-kind services, is inconsistent with the pay rates in the new training programs. The immediate impact appears to be high

loss rates of Corps members to other training programs. Job Corps waiting lists have been reduced almost to the vanishing point as a result. The only solution appears to be higher stipends for Job Corps enrollees.

Service Strategies

Experimentation with different service stragegies and mixes had not yielded any single, demonstrably more effective formula for treating disadvangaged youth. As noted above there were originally three types of centers, all residential: men's urban centers, conservation centers (all male), and women's urban centers. Non-residential and support centers were established in the 1970s to serve youths in their own backyard and to experiment with different mixes of services, but they lacked the total remediation approach of full time residence and were not greatly different from MDTA skills centers. Of both residential and non-residential centers, some were operated by private firms and some by public agencies. There was a diversity in vocational concentrations and in center environments. Yet, no model proved pre-eminently successful and there was very little progress in determining which type of participant would do best at any particular type of center or with any specific set of services.

The major change that seemed to make a difference was an increased emphasis on placement. In the early years of Job Corps, it was assumed that completers could return home and find jobs on their own, once they had obtained some education or job skills. This proved false for many, so placement efforts by the Job Corps, the Employment Service, and non-profit agencies were intensified. Of special significance was the development of union training programs. The Job Corps contracted with various construction unions to provide pre-apprenticeship training in the centers. Completers could then move into apprenticeship and prepare for relatively high paying jobs at union wage scales. This has raised placement rates and average wage gains of enrollees by a significant margin in recent years.

Effectiveness of Complete Remediation

Despite the generally negative tone of the above comments, Levitan and Johnson (1976) maintain that "there is merit in the basic concept of separating youths from their home environments and providing them with a comprehensive package of support and services in addition to education and training." The authors allow that the potential size of the hard core disadvantaged population who can be attracted to enroll in centers is much smaller than original projections, and that "better screening is required to ensure that those who can best benefit from the training receive it." The authors admit that the Job Corps itself "has not fully resolved the question of whom it aims to

help," but insist that the program has been of significant help to many youths:

> However costs and benefits are analyzed and whatever the exact proportions of successes versus failures, it is apparent that the sheltered and supported environment of Job Corps centers helps many youth who might otherwise have remained trapped and hopeless.

Existing follow-up data support Levitan and Johnson's position. In fiscal year 1977, close to 93 percent of all those available for placement entered the military, returned to school, or were placed in jobs. Of these, over 64 percent were placed in jobs at an average wage of $2.83 per hour, close to 23 percent returned to school, and about 6 percent entered the armed forces.

Even more spectacular were the outcomes for union programs. Two out of three Job Corps enrollees enrolled in union-related programs completed their courses. Of these, 66 percent were placed in jobs at an average wage of $5.59 per hour, and 16 percent either returned to school or entered the armed forces. Nine out of ten of those who were placed in jobs were placed by the various participating unions, including the Operating Engineers, Carpenters, Brick Layers, Plasterers, Cement Masons, Painters, Marine Cooks, and Stewards, and the AFof L-CIO Appalachian Council.

The unanswered question is whether the gains realized by enrollees and the future benefits to society equal the costs of "complete remediation." One study commissioned by the Office of Economic Opportunity, found that benefits exceeded costs; another, commissioned by GAO, using the same data but different assumptions, concluded that the human resources investment was decidedly unprofitable (Levitan and Johnson, 1976).

One of the important lessons learned from Job Corps experience -- one that may be particularly relevant to future institutional training program -- is that Job Corps performance improved rather than deteriorated when many of the frills were slashed. Training and education were narrowed to specific job requirements. The key seemed to be the ability to gain access to better jobs rather than efforts to alter attitudes and values of enrollees. For instance, in the construction trades, the linkages with unions resulted in a 45 percent job/training match and an average hourly wage of $3.04 (compared to $2.33 overall). Women trained in clerical occupations had access to government jobs, resulting in a 52 percent job/training match and an average wage of $2.23. In contrast, where there were no specific linkages with the labor market, better jobs did not result even when training was in low unemployment occupations;

only a fourth of trainees in auto and machinery repair were placed in training related jobs with an average wage of $2.29. Preparation for less desirable jobs resulted in more frequent placement but lesser earnings gains; enrollees trained in health occupations, for example, could find work, but the average wage was only $2.10.

Four points emerge from the Job Corps experience, lessons which occur repeatedly with respect to all employment and training programs; (1) specific components aimed at increasing motivation, improving attitudes, and changing values generally are not fruitful. If change occurs with respect to motivation, attitudes and values, it generally is caused by far more subtle factors, such as program atmosphere, mixing with enrollees from different socio-economic backgrounds, and the perceptions of enrollees that their chances for training related employment are favorable; (2) the failure to maintain minimum behavioral and program performance standards is self-defeating; (3) training works best when it is related to specific jobs and when relationships are established between programs and public or private sector employers and unions; and (4) of all support components, placement services are the most important in assuring program success.

Non-Residential Skill Training

The above discussion involved institutional training programs which offer complete remedial services for their enrollees. We now turn to programs which feature primarily classroom instruction, though supplementary services may be provided which approach complete remediation. Such training was first authorized under MDTA, and the only significant body of literature on the subject involves that program. Although classroom training is still a major component of the decategorized CETA program, no definitive evaluations of training under CETA have been performed. Thus, the material in this subsection is based on the literature of MDTA, and leans heavily on the authors' own book, A Decade of Manpower Development and Training (1973), which synthesized the major studies of MDTA training which had been performed during the first ten years of that program's life.

The MDTA training program was not directed solely toward youth, but youth under 22 years of age constituted the largest single age group enrolled in classroom training courses. In 1972, for example, youth under 22 years of age, constituted close to 40 percent of all MDTA enrollment, and over 44 percent of skills center enrollment. Thus, although no studies were undertaken of the effectiveness of institutional training for youth under 22 years of age, because of the large representation of youth in the program, the results of more general

evaluations have relevance to the effectiveness of institutional training for youth.

Enrollee Characteristics

In 1971, two out of three MDTA enrollees were listed as "disadvantaged," but the corresponding figure for skills centers was three out of four enrollees. There were also differences in the degree of disadvantagement among individuals enrolled in the various types of institutional training programs. The individual referral program served mainly white, female high school graduates in their prime working years. Skills center enrollees, on the other hand, had lower educational attainment rates (56.5 percent less than a high school education), were unemployed longer, were younger, and were more apt to be members of minority groups. Class size projects in regular vocational schools were between these two extremes.

Performance Data

The average completion rate for all institutional trainees in 1973 was 61 percent, and the average placement rate for completers was 56 percent, 81 percent of whom were placed in training related jobs. Follow-up data revealed that 58 percent of all completers were still employed six months after their training. Completion, placement, and training-related placement rates for skills center enrollees were slightly higher than those of all institutional enrollees, but follow-up placement rates were slightly lower. Although completion rates were highest for individual referral enrollees, their placement rates were the lowest (48 percent), probably reflecting a lack of placement effort for individual referral enrollees, as well as a higher proportion of female family heads. Training related placements for individual referrals were 79 percent (slightly lower than those for all institutional training), but follow-up retention rates, at 70 percent, were the highest of any group.

Cost-Effectiveness Data

All available cost-effectiveness data regarding the institutional training program were compiled by Olympus Research Centers in its evaluations of the skills center program (1971), the individual referral program (1972), and the effectiveness of institutional training in meeting employers' needs in skill shortage occupations (1972). Unfortunately, similar analyses have not been made of other employment and training programs. Intra-program comparisons, however, are possible, and were performed by the authors in A Decade of Manpower Development and Training. Individual costs, not including enrollee allowances, were as follows:

	Individual Referrals	Skills Centers	All Institutional
Per enrollee year	$ 810	$3,250	$2,350
Per completer	725	1,400	1,437
Per placement	1,305	1,400	2,860
Per enrollee employed six months after	1,042	2,490	2,420

The fact that per-placement cost for skills centers was less than that for all institutional training probably reflects the more intensive placement services that were available for skills center enrollees.

Though the individual referral program was least costly to the federal government, it reflects the tendency of the public schools to charge only the tax-subsidized tuitions charged to regular students. These figures, on the other hand, are a combination of public and private schools though the latter charged full costs and were about double the costs charged by the public schools. Skills center and class-size projects also provided more supportive services and counseling than individual referral programs, while skills centers had longer class hours and larger percentages of disadvantaged enrollees.

Problems

The MDTA institutional program encountered its share of serious problems. Most of these are peculiar to the classroom setting, but some cut across component lines and, thus, are applicable to all employment and training programs.

Dropouts: Although MDTA dropout rates were lower than those of the Job Corps, they, nevertheless, averaged 39 percent overall. Evaluations found that dropout rates tended to increase when the training was conducted in areas where the options open to enrollees were relatively wide, e.g., in large urban areas, areas with low unemployment rates, and in areas where choices other than institutional training were numerous. Dropout rates were consistently lower in rural areas and in other areas where economic conditions were relatively depressed.

The type of facilities used in providing training also correlated highly with dropout rates. Dropout rates were consistently lower when the training was conducted in campus-like and industrial-like settings, and consistently higher when the training was conducted in traditional schools and converted military facilities.

Skills centers and other multi-occupational projects, which enrolled mainly disadvantaged enrollees, also suffered higher dropout rates than class-size projects and individual referrals. The fact that skills center dropout rates were much lower than those of Job Corps may have been because not all enrollees were disadvantaged, and because the program enrolled individuals of all ages and both sexes. Living at home may also have reduced dropouts. In a study of 19 skills centers (1971) Olympus also showed that dropout rates declined as the racial mixture became more balanced. Centers with high percentages of minorities suffered far higher dropout rates than those which enrolled minorities and non-minorities in close to equal proportion.

Occupational Range: With the exception of the individual referral program, the range of occupational offering was extremely narrow. Five occupational clusters accounted for 73 percent of all institutional training: automotive, health occupations, clerical, welding and metal machine trades. These, with the possible exception of some health and clerical occupations, are traditional vocational education offerings. In fact, vocational education was severely criticized in the late 1950s and early 1960s for training exclusively in these and a few other so-called "declining" occupations. The program experimented with some non-traditional occupations, but in most cases these programs were dropped because of poor placement rates. Five major inhibitors to a wider occupational range were identified:

(1) Length of Training: Faced by limited funds far exceeded by program eligibility, administrators preferred a lean program for maximum enrollment to a rich program for a few. The number of occupations in which disadvantaged people could be trained to entry levels in an average of 29 weeks was limited.

(2) Scarcity of Funds: Institutional training allocations were inadequate to meet the needs for training in any given area. The question therefore was not one of broadening an existing program but one of selecting which occupations were the most suitable for a limited program.

(3) Lack of Occupational Information: The almost total lack of a system to provide planners with synthesized, easy to understand, demand information at the local level may have been the most significant of the five major inhibitors. Lacking information, administrators were more likely to stay within the relatively narrow range of occupational offerings that had been shown to produce reasonable success.

(4) Union Opposition: Union opposition, or what institutional training program planners assumed to be union opposition, occurred mainly in the construction and printing trades and sewing occupations.

(5) Need for Stability: Newly created institutions, such as skills centers, were not exempt from the institutional tendency to strive towards stability. If a skills center's offerings were to change every year, the center would be in a perpetual state of turmoil. Centers had no objections to broadening their occupational offerings, provided that adequate funds were available, but resisted changes in existing occupational offerings.

(6) Legal Requirements: The legislation limited training to occupations in which there was "reasonable expectation of employment." Placement rates were the primary test of success. Lacking adequate labor market information, placement at low per capita cost could best be assured in high turnover occupations and those most widespread in every community.

A good deal of progress has been made recently in overcoming these inhibitors. There has been a real effort to improve the quality of local labor market information, not only for the identification of potential training occupations, but also for job search and placement services as well. As more and more existing institutions agree to accept at least some disadvantaged enrollees, the need for special institutions, such as skills centers, is beginning to decline. Increased union participation in employment and training programs is enhancing the employment prospects for enrollees and broadening the occupational base. These are all good signs, but the agenda has not been wiped clean. A shortcoming not yet attacked is the tendency of institutional programs to undertake training in occupations for which the classroom is not the most effective and certainly not the most economical training ground. Care should be taken to assess the relative effectiveness of various settings for imparting specific skills, to use the most effective method or to combine methods. Most worrisome is the lack of recent evaluation. So little is known of the quality of classroom training under CETA that one cannot determine whether the overall picture is improving or deteriorating.

Overall Conclusions

The single most important fact emerging from the literature pertaining to institutional training is that on the best evidence available, the average MDTA institutional enrollee

experienced increased earnings as a direct result of participation in the program. Underlying the annual earnings gains, it is significant that disadvantaged workers appeared to profit more than those not so disadvantaged, that completers profited more than non-completers, and that longer training was more effective than shorter training. It is noteworthy that gains came by offering a new route to labor market entry or reentry, as well as from steadier employment and higher wages. Given the charge that employment and training programs more often recycle disadvantaged workers through a secondary labor market rather than providing breakthroughs into the primary market, it is also significant that post-training jobs were far more likely than pre-training jobs to provide the fringe benefits and job securities of the latter markets.

The most serious weakness of classroom training under MDTA was the occupations chosen for training. They were understandable as an expedient choice for "reasonable expectation of employment." Had the objective been a satisfactory working career for the remainder of each enrollee's working life, the choices might have been generally different.

Though it was never the intention of the authorizing legislation, in too many places the program provided a second-class training institution for those least able to bear further stigmatization. Using substandard facilities and allowing equipment to deteriorate and become obsolete may have saved budgets, but the evidence was that it reduced the benefits at least as much as the costs.

Individual referral offered a standard training environment because it included program enrollees in regular courses. But it provided no supportive services and therefore was useful primarily to those who needed no more than a stipend to make training possible and attractive. Skills centers, OICs and SERs provided the supportive services, but they not only suffered too often from substandard facilities, they were also segregated institutions demarcated "for the disadvantaged only."

None of these weaknesses were sufficient to offset the program's benefits, but they undoubtedly reduced the payoff. The issues for the future are how the experience can contribute to a sound remedial component within a national employment and training policy. Though these conclusions are not limited to youth, there is no indication that they are less true for younger enrollees.

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FOR IN-SCHOOL YOUTH

The major school program for preparing youth for labor market participation is vocational education, a program which during the late 1950s and early 1960s was charged with being one of the most moribund of federally supported programs. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 had as its principle objective the achievement of a vocational education system "which will assure that all persons of all ages in all communities of the state . . . have ready access to vocational training or retraining which is of high quality, which is realistic in the light of actual or anticipated opportunities for gainful employment, and which is suited to their needs, interests, and ability to benefit from such training." There is no doubt that the Act poured new life into the nation's system of vocational education. Funds were multiplied, facilities and equipment were improved, curricula were expanded, especially at the post-secondary level, and new pedagogical methods were introduced. The system as a whole began to be more concerned with the individual needs of its participants than with the needs of employers in specific occupational categories.

However, the question as to whether vocational education was reaching the disadvantaged and handicapped, or whether certain types of vocational education (e.g., cooperative education and work study) were being given adequate emphasis by vocational educators, remained unanswered in 1968, five years after the Act was passed. Consequently, in 1968 Congress amended the Vocational Education Act, removing some of the narrowing strictures which had sharply differentiated vocational education from academic education, insisting upon state planning and seeking to strengthen the federal leadership role. Innovation was made a key objective. Through national and state advisory committees with independent staffs, the Congress sought to bring lay perspective and influence into the administrative world of vocational education.

Perhaps most important, the 1968 amendments mandated that portions of federal grants to the states to be used to provide special programs or services for those who could not succeed in regular vocational education programs without such services. At least 10 percent of total federal grants to the states (Part B of the Act) was earmarked to provide special educational programs and services to students with physical and mental handicaps, and no less than an additional 15 percent was earmarked for the disadvantaged. In addition, Part G of the amendments mandated that a portion of state grants be set aside for cooperative education, and Part H required a similar set-aside for work study programs. Findings of various studies related to vocational education as a whole and each of these set-asides are summarized here.

Vocational Education

Vocational education is so diverse and massive and the literature concerning it is so vast that a brief summary of the experiences since 1963 is almost impossible. Nevertheless, a few high points are necessary.

As of 1975, vocational education enrolled over 13 million students. However, the number who might be legitimately considered as vocational students is unknown. Every student enrolled in a course funded in part out of grants-in-aid to the states under the federal vocational education act is counted, even though many may be taking a typing class to speed school work, an auto mechanics class to service a personal "jalopy," or a homemaking class without labor market intent. A high proportion who take such classes do not graduate as vocational students and many who graduate do not seek training related jobs. Vocational education is often attacked on cost-benefit grounds for such "failures." However, vocational educators frequently point out that no similar tests are ever applied to academic and general education. Many vocational skills could be considered part of a liberal education in that they broaden understanding of society and provide general skills for personal use.

Vocational programs are best disaggregated by level -- secondary, postsecondary (non-college), and junior or community college -- and by occupation. Student bodies, course offerings and results are different for each. Non-completion and non-placement is generally a secondary school phenomenon. High proportions of high school students use vocational courses for non-vocational intentions; many go on to college, enter the military or marry without entering the labor market. Post-secondary and community college students typically have stronger labor market commitments and their completion and training-related placement rates are high.

Those who become primarily vocational students in high school tend to be from the lower socio-economic strata, whereas those pursuing occupational skills in the community college are typically of higher socio-economic standing. Occupations of higher level skills such as those for health personnel and technicians are usually too lengthy for high school and are generally reserved for postsecondary and community college training. High school enrollments tend to concentrate in office occupations which may or may not be pursued after graduation, homemaking which generally has non-economic intent, agriculture in rural areas though the students usually migrate to urban settings, and automotive repair which also does not imply career commitment.

Nevertheless, of those who are available for placement following school completion, vocational education does have a

remarkable placement record, as Table 5-1 indicates. The unemployment rates are also low when it is remembered that almost the entire graduating group is between 17 and 20 years of age. Measured a few months after graduation, the unemployment rates of vocational graduates are persistently 9-10 percent, about the same as the rates for 20-24 year olds and below the 12-15 percent rates experienced by 18 and 19 year olds in the years represented in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1

Vocational Education Completions and Placements
1971-1974

Item	1971	1972	1973	1974
Completions	1,493,247	1,588,603	1,938,379	2,111,032
Left with marketable skills	122,803	135,501	110,377	218,556
Status unknown	319,409	293,537	336,717	364,095
Not available for placement	394,665	457,161	457,891	519,149
Continuing into higher education	303,415	325,478	314,314	352,197
Available for placement	819,109	968,050	1,094,417	1,204,923
Employed full time in related field	564,506	671,895	727,957	779,862
Unemployed	88,215	89,901	99,119	120,746
Employed, not in related field	163,574	206,513	267,343	303,270

Source: Project Baseline, Northern Arizona University, 1975.

Cost-benefit evaluations of vocational education have been plagued with problems in data and concept. Substantial differences exist in the socio-economic and ability status of those who enroll in vocational, general, and academic education, and the data are inadequate to control for those differences. Few long-term longitudinal studies are available to determine what happens to the relative earnings of various groups over time. Furthermore, the occupational content of various vocational categories is so vastly different that comparisons need to be made by occupation, and few studies have done so. Relative cost data are difficult to derive.

In general, available studies support the usefulness of the additional investment necessary for vocational education. National Longitudinal Survey data which only partially controlled for socio-economic status and ability, found no appreciable differences in income for those emerging from the various educational tracks, but it identified a substantial income differential in favor of the vocational students two years later. Earnings differentials ranged from $1,500 per year for all whites to more than $2,300 for black women (Adams, et al. 1978).

Other studies have measured earning differentials in favor of vocational graduates with a return on investment in vocational education of 10 to 20 percent (Lecht, 1974). Income differentials between blacks and whites were less for vocationally educated than for other curricula, suggesting that blacks gained relatively more from vocational education than did blacks enrolled in other education tracks. However, earnings differentials between the graduates of secondary and postsecondary vocational-technical education did not justify added investment. Junior college graduates did better economically than graduates of postsecondary vocational-technical schools, but then they were drawn, on the average, from higher socio-economic groupings.

A growing state and local commitment to vocational education is evident as is a rise in student interest and in enrollments in absolute and relative terms. States overmatch federal contributions six to one, when only a 50/50 match is required. Postsecondary and adult vocational education enrollments are rising more rapidly than secondary enrollments, and this is appropriate given occupational and demographic trends. Though there are no national data available, personal observations suggest that good programs in attractive occupations with high placement rates are almost always oversubscribed, particularly at the postsecondary level. There are no qualitative data other than the rising real expenditure per student, but observation suggests great improvements in facilities, equipment and instruction. Minorities are generally over-represented in comparison to their proportions, but this may reflect restricted opportunities for higher education as well as a desire for vocational education. Women are rising as a proportion of vocational students but primarily because of the expansion of

home economics and health and office occupations rather than any inclusion in training for traditionally male occupations. Expansion is occurring across the range of traditional occupations except for the declining proportion in agriculture. Therefore, vocational education is alive, well, and expanding, but it is still having difficulty in bursting traditional bonds.

Lessons to be drawn from recent vocational education experience would seem to be:

(1) The need to carefully analyze which occupations are best learned in the classroom setting and concentrate on them.

(2) The need to train in broadly related clusters of occupations to give the student maximum flexibility.

(3) The need to emphasize broadly related job seeking and job getting skills -- What are elsewhere in the report called coping skills -- as well as job doing skills.

(4) The need for employer linkages and placement services provided by the school, either directly or by cooperation with other placement agencies to minimize drift into other occupations.

(5) The willingness of state and local taxpayers to invest huge sums in occupational training for the mainstream of secondary and postsecondary youth but little for program efforts limited to the economically disadvantaged.

The Disadvantaged

Olympus Research Corporation, in a 1976 study of vocational education programs for the disadvantaged, found program costs to be low, completion rates high, and student and employer ratings of the program overwhelmingly favorable. However, the Olympus report also stated that these data would be a good deal more significant "if it could be ascertained that the intended target population was well defined, let alone well served, and that the programs were designed to overcome conditions -- determined by means of individual assessments -- that cause school failure."

Olympus summarized its conclusions by commenting on six Congressional assumptions upon which the disadvantaged provisions of the 1968 amendments were based, all of which are pertinent to youth employment and training policy:

Assumption 1. Need for disadvantaged Part B set-aside: Prior to 1968, many disadvantaged students either were not enrolled in vocational education programs, or, if they were enrolled, were not being provided with the kinds of services they needed to succeed.
Comments: While vocational educators did not disagree with the above assumption, they contended that vocational education has always been considered a referral grounds for academic rejects, and that prior to 1968, the program was underfunded, underequipped, and received little consideration from policy makers at any level. Vocational education had been categorized as "elitist"; yet when the disadvantaged became a national priority, the major burden for solving their educational problems was delegated to vocational education. This factor, more than any other, may account for the less than enthusiastic administration of the program.

Assumption 2. Meaning of disadvantaged: There is a common understanding of the characteristics of disadvantaged students (for identification purposes) and a common understanding of the meaning of disadvantaged.
Comments: The term "disadvantaged" was interpreted in its broadest sense and varied widely from state to state, community to community, and school to school. There was no common meaning of the term and no common understanding of the characteristics of disadvantaged students. As a result the Part B set-aside provision for the disadvantaged appeared to be a program in search of a target group.

Assumption 3. Assessment: Assessment techniques exist or can be developed whereby the conditions which result in school failure can be identified on an individual basis.
Comments: Assessment techniques may exist or may have been developed, but, if so, they were not being used to identify disadvantaged students, or discover individual conditions which caused school failure. The informal assessment process was directed toward justifying the disadvantaged status of students enrolled in Part B set-aside programs, rather than toward the conditions which result in school failure.

Assumption 4: Education treatments: Education treatments exist or can be developed which can be applied to students suffering from conditions which cause school failure.

Comments: Without individualized assessments of students screened into the program, it is not surprising that "educational treatments" were so broad that they were virtually unidentifiable. The one individual treatment that prevailed was "individual attention."

Assumption 5. Planning: A body of data exists or can be developed which facilitates state and local planning for the disadvantaged, the establishment of priorities, and the allocation of funds to local educational jurisdictions on a rational basis.
Comments: Without clear definitions of the term "disadvantaged," and the application of individual assessment techniques, planning -- except in a general sense -- was all but impossible. Planning was generally done on an ad hoc basis; that is, the money was there to be spent, and projects had to be designed to justify the expenditures.

Assumption 6. Programming: There is a common understanding of the kinds of programs that should be funded for the disadvantaged (e.g., solely skills training, or a variety of services, including remedial education, counseling, pre-vocational training, world of work instruction, work education, and so forth).
Comments: The types of occupational programs in which disadvantaged students were being enrolled were few in number and of questionable value. Half of all high school students were enrolled in world of work or low-quality work experience programs; few were enrolled in occupational skills training -- innovative or non-innovative. At the post-secondary level, most students were enrolled in remedial education programs; presumably, they were also enrolled in skills training programs not supported by set-aside funds.

The study also found that disadvantaged students were being segregated into special classes, a new "lower track," and that the students were quite aware of their special but not enviable status. This is a theme which keeps recurring, regardless of whether the subject is subsidized employment, Job Corps, skills centers, or vocational education.

The Handicapped

A 1974 study of vocational education for the handicapped, also conducted by Olympus Research Centers, found that many of the problems outlined above also apply to programs for the handicapped -- although the handicapped program was more popular with

vocational educators and the results, as far as they could be determined, were somewhat better.

Costs and outcomes data were seriously deficient at both the state and local levels. However, according to what little data were available and to the results of student, employer and parent interviews, the program appeared to be working well. Costs per student and completer were not excessive, and placement rates ranged from 48 to 60 percent for completers. Considering that about 33 percent of the completers reenrolled in school, the placement rate was good. Only 15 percent of the completers were unemployed, and the dropout rate, at 6 percent, was very low. Both parents and students were favorably impressed with the program, and participating employers gave their handicapped employees high ratings in almost every work performance category.

The study also discussed several issues with respect to training for the handicapped which are relevant to youth programming.

Program Priorities

Many administrators throughout the country voiced the opinion that trainable mentally retarded students and other handicapped individuals who, according to medical and psychological diagnoses, will never be able to compete on the open labor market, should not have been referred to the set-aside program. A few states established policies which, in effect, barred the placement of such individuals in vocational education. The question was one of priorities. Since funding for the handicapped comes from many different sources and since groups of handicapped individuals have varying educational needs, the question arose: Which funds should be used to provide which services? The consensus was that the first priority for the set-aside program should be those handicapped individuals who, although they needed special services to succeed in a vocational education program, once trained had the capacity to compete on the open labor market. However, because of the absence of policy and planning at both the state and local levels, priorities for the set-aside program generally were not established.

Mainstreaming

Approximately two-thirds of the local administrators who were interviewed said that it was the policy of their school districts to integrate the handicapped with regular students. However, in most areas where the policy called for integration, implementation was still far from a reality. Of the students enrolled in the program, 70 percent were in special classes. There were several reasons for lack of implementation: (1) reluctance of instructors to accept handicapped students; (2) inability of instructors to teach the handicapped; (3) lack of

individualized instruction techniques; and (4) referral into the program of individuals, such as trainable mentally retarded students, who could not succeed in advanced skill training classes.

But despite the current strong advocacy for mainstreaming, it remains an issue whether integration is always the best policy. There appears to be a real danger that handicapped students will become lost in regular classes, will not receive the special support they need from instructors and fellow students or will be overwhelmed by the competition. The Olympus study found students in regular classes more apt to become bored than students in special classes. There were numerous examples of special classes where handicapped students received vital support from both their fellow students and their instructors. A possible answer seemed to be "combination" projects in which students spent part of their time in special classes and part in regular classes, but received extra help in both.

Diagnosis and Assessment

Diagnosis of handicapping conditions was not considered a vocational education responsibility. Nevertheless, the classification of students into mentally handicapped categories encountered difficulties throughout the country. The use of IQ scores to classify students as mentally retarded was being challenged in many areas, especially by minority groups. The trend in many states and local areas was to discontinue categorizing students by specific types of handicaps and, instead, to place all handicapped individuals in the special needs category. This trend makes it incumbent on vocational education to perform educational assessments of the needs of handicapped students who are referred for training. Thorough vocational education assessments, including individualized education plans, by vocational educators were performed in only a small minority of the projects included in the study sample.

Mixing the Handicapped and Disadvantaged

In smaller schools, no attempt was made to separate educable mentally retarded students from the disadvantaged, and in some of the larger schools, disadvantaged students were placed in special classes with the mentally handicapped. Since the educational needs of the disadvantaged and handicapped were usually different, and since the disadvantaged were often humiliated by being placed in classes with the mentally retarded, the mixing of the mentally retarded with the disadvantaged appeared to be a questionable practice.

Career Education

Career education has nearly as many definitions as definers. In general, it refers to programs emphasizing work

values, attitudes and habits, and the career relevance of academic learning, mostly at the elementary and junior high level. At the high school level, it begins to involve an interface between school and work. Impressive national results appear to be accumulating in programs designed for the specific purpose of providing labor market exposure and career education through a series of temporary assignments to a variety of work situations. These programs appear to respond to what the National Child Labor Committee has criticized as the failure of past programs to provide categories of employment that would provide appropriate part-time employment, and jobs in which it is understood that training and development of workers is as important as immediate productivity.

Experience Based Career Education -- now known also as Community Based Career Education (CBCE) -- is structured around the idea of making available in the community a large variety of work activities in which youth can become involved in the role of observer and learner. Results of recent demonstrations have been impressive, and replication of early models is taking place throughout the country. EBCE incorporates methods used successfully for years; i.e., cooperative education, competency-based academic instruction, schools-without-walls, and work study, while combining academic, personal, and vocational development. Variations are possible in the relative emphasis placed on time in school and time on jobs, and several programs have begun to offer academic credit for independent study.

In following up the results of EBCE's 375 first-year graduates, the National Institute for Education (1977) found that 50 percent of the former students were in college as full-time students, 15 percent were in college part time, and 35 percent were working full time.

Despite its success to date, EBCE does have limitations. Clearly, it thus far has not -- and perhaps cannot -- reach those facing the most severe problems and barriers to employment. Its enrollees have been primarily middle-class students looking for an alternative to classroom boredom; they were not the disadvantaged. And as Reubens notes in Bridges to Work (1977), as valuable as the intensive activity of EBCE may be for the relatively few who experience it, a major issue is the feasibility of obtaining enough employer participation to extend it to a large proportion of students.

Other types of career education models have emerged in recent years, and several of these may hold greater potential for serving disadvantaged students than the school-operated EBCE projects. For instance, the various vocational exploration programs promoted by the National Alliance of Businessmen have shown the efficacy of part time and summer work exposure in a variety of private business and industrial work sites. These

attempts, however, have not been widespread, and the variety of opportunities made available by private employers within any given locality have appeared to be extremely limited.

The Career Intern Program, an alternative school program for high school dropouts funded by the National Institute of Education and operated by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers in Philadelphia, is worthy of note as an example of career education applications at the brink of the labor market. The interns (they are never called students) are either dropouts or those underperforming and on the verge of dropping out from regular central city high schools. They must have at least a fifth grade reading level and not been characterized by major disciplinary problems. Essentially, they are self-selected for the program which moves them from a standard over-crowded city high school with over-worked staff and minimum counseling to a unique school which accepts only 250 per year and has a high student-teacher/counselor ratio.

As described in the NIE final report subtitled An Experiment in Career Education that Worked (1977), each intern participates in a career counseling seminar and prepares a career development plan which leads to a series of one week "hands-on" experiences with employers in fields of the intern's interest. Meantime, the interns study a required curriculum and electives, all oriented around career applications and consisting of specially prepared individualized materials. The structure is essentially ungraded and students work at their own pace until they have completed the material required for graduation.

Careful records have been kept of interns and a control group. The clearest gains have been in the number of former dropouts and academic failures who have not only graduated from high school, but entered post-secondary education. The subsequent employment records of the interns are somewhat but not notably better than the controls, but the interns are much less likely to be out of school and out of work. About one-third of the interns drop out again, but that compares to 85 percent of those controls still in school at the time the interns entered CIP.

Evaluators found that all school conduct of the interns improved: attendance, keeping appointments, initiative, completing assignments, test-taking skills, working well with peers and teachers, attention to classwork, willingness to repeat failed courses, reading and math skills (though the latter were still below national norms). As to employability, they improved markedly in career planning and career decision-making ability and in the behavioral protocols required by employers. Conclusions were that the success arose from a supportive atmosphere, ready availability and dedication of teachers, counselors and other staff, dealing with the intern as "a whole person,"

treating the school and program as a tool rather than an entity, providing a school experience congruent with realistic life goals and expecting the interns to make their own decisions and to perform.

Whether such an approach is generally replicable is open to question. The costs beyond the preparation of curriculum, which could have served many schools, were somewhat greater per student than in general high schools but not above the standard for vocationally oriented high schools. The major problems would appear to be staff dedication and employer cooperation when generalized to large numbers. Nevertheless, the program seems to indicate that imagination, dedication, and clear and relevant goals can work when made available to youth who want a second chance.

Particularly attractive about these programs is their potential for enriching work experience programs, especially with the increasing acceptance of the concept of wage subsidies for youth. A major question to be faced is the familiar one: whether an innovative program operated by its enthusiastic designers can be replicated under run of the mill administration.

NON-SKILL TRAINING

A good deal of employment and training program funds have been expended on classroom instruction which does not involve occupational skill development. The three such components most often encountered are: (1) orientation; (2) prevocational training; and (3) remedial education. The first two enjoyed popularity from the mid to late sixties, and then declined in use; remedial education remains one of the major tools for improving client employability.

Orientation

Orientation first appeared in connection with such programs as Chicago's Jobs Now, a program designed to place hard core, unemployed youth in jobs, with a minimum of delay and no skills training. The program, which had the support of many of Chicago's major employers, processed enrollees through an "orientation" course, where they were assigned a "job coach," and provided with basic "world of work" instruction. Later, orientation became a major component of the Concentrated Employment Program which was modeled after the Jobs Now program. With the passing of CEP, orientation fell into disuse. During its CEP phase, orientation began to grapple with what Walther (1976) calls "coping skills," although that term was never used. One of the problems with orientation was that it generally lasted

only two weeks, too short a period to provide anything but the most superficial instruction to program clients.

To the extent that orientation attempted to help enrollees achieve those non-occupational skills and attitudes that are necessary for employment, it was of use, but it, too, was adversely affected by overloading classes with unmotivated, low achieving individuals, as well as the short training period.

Pre-Vocational Training

During the early days of the skills center program, pre-vocational training was considered an important component of the curriculum. Pre-vocational programs, which often lasted up to 16 weeks, had the following objectives:

(1) Motivate realistic self-assessment by each trainee in establishing a realistic training goal

(2) Ascertain the occupational field that is most suited to each trainee

(3) Assess the enrollee's need for basic education

(4) Develop alternatives for those trainees who are appraised as not being ready or able to benefit from skills training

(5) Develop good work habits, personal habits, proper dress, and other characteristics desired by employers

(6) Develop job seeking techniques, interviewing adequacy, and the ability to utilize the services of community agencies.

By 1971, most centers had discontinued pre-vocational components because:

(1) Dropout rates were too high during the pre-vocational period. The trainees came to the centers with the primary objective of skill training. They became impatient with the long delay. Many were not interested in observing other occupations and rejected the idea of spending long hours in basic education classrooms.

(2) The practice created serious administrative problems, particularly with regard to scheduling. One of the most important phases of the program was the exposure of trainees to all occupational areas

available in the centers. The assignment of pre-vocational enrollees to instructors who already had full classes caused disruption in the regular training and placed a tremendous burden on the instructor. If, on the other hand, the pre-vocational phase was conducted separately, it became artificial and increased costs prohibitively.

(3) Pre-designation of enrollee course assignments by the recruitment agency (usually the Employment Service) made pre-vocational training irrelevant.

(4) Cut-backs in funds made it impossible to continue pre-vocational programs.

However, pre-vocational training became and remains an important component of in-school vocational education programs, especially for younger youth. Pre-voc was one of the major components of vocational education programs for the disadvantaged and handicapped under the Part B set-asides of the 1968 Vocational Education Act amendments. However, one of the problems with these programs was that pre-vocational training became an end in itself; students often were never referred into skills training courses. It would be especially valuable in assessing the interests, capabilities and needs of youthful program applicants.

Remedial Education

It is the conclusion of most literature in the field that success in the work place is directly and inseparably related to the level of basic educational skills attained. Applicants for employment who are well grounded in basic education skills have the best chances of obtaining good jobs and advancing up the occupational ladder. The ability to read, write and compute is more important than skill acquisition and even experience -- especially for youth -- in achieving labor market success. Yet, the single most important screening device used by employers is educational credentials, regardless of the actual ability of the worker.

Herein lies one of the dilemmas of all employment and training programs. Many of its clients -- especially disadvantaged youth -- not only lack basic education skills, but often are not interested in achieving them. Yet, if they are to become employable, some means must be found to help them overcome this major barrier.

A study conducted by North American Rockwell Information Systems (NARISCO) in 1971 found that the average grade level attained by skills center enrollees was 10.4 years. The

average achievement level was much lower. Tests showed that in most centers, the average enrollee achievement rate for both English and mathematics was at the sixth grade level at the time of enrollment. One center claimed to be able to increase reading and mathematics achievement one grade level in 14 to 18 hours of instruction, but the NARISCO study revealed that it takes approximately 73 hours of instruction to raise the average enrollee one grade in reading and 82 hours for mathematics.

Basic education appeared to be most effective for enrollees who had achieved from seventh to tenth grade levels and received from 50 to 150 hours of instruction. It seemed relatively ineffective for those who tested below the sixth grade level. NARISCO also found that basic education instructors were inexperienced in the techniques they were attempting to use and handicapped from a lack of materials. They were confronted with a fundamental conflict in that individualized instruction was accepted as the best technique for basic education. However, motivation was greatest where the basic education was integrated with skills training; yet the two techniques seemed incompatible. These difficulties may have affected the results of NARISCO's study and made it difficult to draw conclusions that were universally applicable.

Job Corps was, perhaps, better equipped than any other institutional training program to provide remedial education to its clients. However, Job Corps remediation efforts were adversely affected by the short time most enrollees remained in the program. An average stay of 5.5 months does not allow sufficient time to accomplish significant gains in basic education skills. However, Taggart (1976) notes that between 1969 and 1974, "enrollee learning rates" rose from .18 to .26 grades per month. These figures appear high but if they are correct, enrollees who remained in the program for one year would have increased their basic education achievement by more than three grades.

The problem of providing remedial education instruction is not just one of technique and up-to-date hardware, but also of overcoming enrollee reluctance to be instructed in basic education skills. This is especially true for young high school dropouts. Many drop out of school because they cannot succeed in academic subjects. Thus, when they enroll in employment and training programs, they are expecting something different -- training or a job. If, instead, they are placed in remedial education classes, disillusionment occurs rapidly.

Recognizing this "reluctance factor," several CETA prime sponsors have initiated special programs of remediation and alternative education which, on the basis of early evidence, appear to be promising. In Baltimore, for example, the CETA

youth strategy has been built around an alternative education program -- Harbor City Learning -- which provides alternating two-week cycles of work and educational development. Similar approaches have been initiated in Albuquerque, Oakland, Salt Lake City, Cleveland, Portland, Detroit, and elsewhere. It is too early to judge the results of these programs, but their very existence is evidence that employment and training program administrators are using new methods in attempting to solve an old and particularly difficult problem.

DESIGN SUMMARY

No experienced practitioner today would consider institutional and on-the-job training programs, whether for youth or adults, panaceas for solving unemployment problems, structural or otherwise. On the other hand, the media and sideline observers have rebounded from their negative assessments of the early 1970s to give these approaches respectability, if not enthusiastic endorsement. The literature does not offer a firm assessment. For one thing, unlike job creation programs, training is a captive to economic conditions. It works best when economic conditions are good, or when employers are having difficulties in recruiting skilled, semi-skilled and entry-level workers. When economic conditions are fair to poor, training may help individuals improve their skills and compete on a more equal basis with more successful workers. It can have little or no effect on overall employment and unemployment rates. Given that susceptibility, it is not surprising that reliance on training in both settings declined during the 1974-75 recession in favor of subsidized employment. It is somewhat surprising that it has not experienced a greater resurgence under CETA in subsequent years. There are lessons to be learned from the past regarding the delivery of institutional training services, some of the more important of which are listed here:

Selecting Training Institutions

Program sponsors can select from among the following to supply institutional training to their enrollees: (1) public schools and community colleges; (2) community based organizations and other non-profit organizations; and (3) private, proprietary schools. Furthermore, sponsors can elect either to contract for special classes, or refer applicants to existing classes. With respect to public schools and community colleges, the latter method is the least expensive, but the services available through individual referrals are not always appropriate for disadvantaged enrollees.

Although it is not possible to prescribe across-the-board for all program sponsors, there are certain general rules

that should be followed in selecting operators of institutional training programs.

Individual Referrals

To the extent that existing institutions -- local schools, community colleges, technical institutes, private schools, and so forth -- are willing to enroll all employment and training program clients, including the disadvantaged, the individual referral method should replace class-size, multi-occupational and skills center programs. This would assure a broader range of occupational offerings for clients, more emphasis on individual training needs, and the opportunity for enrollees to mix with regular students in a non-segregated atmosphere.

Class-Size Projects

If existing institutions are not willing or able to accept and serve all clients, including the disadvantaged, then class-size and multi-occupational projects (including skills centers) are the only recourse. However, care should be taken that these classes or institutions do not become segregated, second-class institutions for the least employable individuals in communities.

Employer Relations

Institutions which have working relationships with employers and unions should be given preference over those which do not maintain substantial relationships with the private sector.

Training Techniques

Institutional programs work best and cost least when such practices as open-entry/open-exit, individualized instruction, and training in clusters of occupations (including spin-offs) are incorporated into curricula.

Occupational Offerings

Occupational offerings should be based on demand in the community rather than simply high turnover rates and low training costs. To the extent possible, institutional training should also be tied into plant expansions and the movement of industry into communities. Thus, planning personnel should have expertise in labor market analysis, or such expertise should be sought from other agencies. In addition, the following general rules should be followed:

Types of Offerings

Institutional skills training should be limited to occupational areas which are appropriate for classroom training -- skills which require a certain amount of theoretical instruction as well as hands-on training. Occupations such as messengers, file clerks, sales clerks, unskilled labor, and some semi-skilled production line occupations, among others, are best learned on the job.

Coupled Work Experience

Wherever possible and appropriate, classroom training should be coupled with on-the-job training or work experience.

Non-Skills Training

The question as to the amount of resources that should be expended on such types of institutional training as pre-vocational training, basic or remedial education, language training, career education, and orientation has always been difficult to resolve. Generally speaking, the following practices have proved to be the most successful over the years:

Pre-Vocational Training

Pre-vocational training has been most successful with youth under 18, and particularly those under 16. Care should be taken, however, that pre-vocational training eventually leads to skills training. Too often in the past, pre-vocational training has become an end in itself, especially for in-school disadvantaged students. Pre-vocational training by itself does not provide adequate preparation for employment. It is, however, an excellent assessment tool, and it does provide a self-discovery process for young students and workers. Program sponsors must judge for themselves whether the benefits to be derived from pre-vocational training are worth its costs.

Basic or Remedial Education

The challenge of upgrading the basic education skills of employment and training program enrollees is a formidable one, yet one of the most important facing program sponsors. What is needed here is a good deal of experimentation. The approach which appears to be the least effective (and a source of high dropout rates) is unrelieved classroom instruction. Remedial education programs have worked best when they were either integrated with skills training and work experience, or alternated with other program components (e.g., alternating weeks of remedial education and work experience). It cannot

be overemphasized that youth who are behind in basic education skills are truly disadvantaged in both obtaining jobs and in advancing up career ladders. Thus, experimentation should be enhanced in this difficult area, and remedial education should be a top priority budget item.

Language Training

Where considerable numbers of youth have difficulties with the English language, English as a second language should be a "must" course. For some students, straight language courses may be all that is required; for others, however, language training is more effective when it is integrated with skills training, on-the-job training and work experience.

Career Education

To the extent that program sponsors can help schools enhance the career education concept, especially for disadvantaged youth, potential dropouts and minority youth, employment and training programs would be providing a valuable community service. To accomplish this, close relationships should be maintained with schools and community colleges. In addition, career education-type programs have been successful for out-of-school youth, especially those between the ages of 18-21, in the few areas where they have been tried.

Orientation

Of all the non-skill institutional training components, orientation has been the least successful. Orientation should be integrated with on-going components, and "coping skills" should be taught in connection with institutional and on-the-job training and work experience; they should not be segregated into a separate orientation course.

Institutional training has also been used as a holding action during periods of high unemployment and generally bad business conditions. Enrollees are paid allowances while acquiring new skills during the recession periods. While this is a legitimate concept, care should be taken that standards are maintained, or that the training component is at least as important as the stipends, and that the training is conducted in occupational areas which are likely to be in demand when economic conditions improve.

It should be reiterated that the problems outlined above may have reduced the payoff of institutional skill training, but they have not by any means negated the accomplishments of the program. Perhaps the issue that local policy makers should be most aware of is the danger of creating a segregated program for

the disadvantaged. In an era when de facto segregation is one of the most difficult problems facing public educational institutions, skills centers, Job Corps Centers, and other skill training programs appear to be an extension of an already troubled system. The problem is aggravated further by the narrow range of occupational offerings and the fact that many of the facilities and equipment are "second class." Thus, the program is susceptible to the charge of identifying certain limited occupations as "suitable" for the disadvantaged and carrying them out in segregated, second-class facilities. Yet, experience in the individual referral program has shown that most existing institutions are neither willing nor able to serve the disadvantaged. This is the basic dilemma that faces most policy makers and program administrators.

The accomplishments of the institutional training program should also be kept clearly in mind:

(1) The program has resulted in the creation of institutions that are both able and willing to provide the disadvantaged with skill training, supported by remedial education, related education, counseling and other supportive services.

(2) The program has helped bring about change in existing vocational education institutions.

(3) The program has demonstrated that it is possible to train individuals with entry skills in a considerably shorter period of time than it takes in most vocational institutions.

(4) The individual referral program is the closest to an educational voucher system in the employment and training program arsenal and should be used as such. Although the program is not geared specifically to the disadvantaged, it can be a useful tool for the training or retraining of workers who become unemployed because of economic downturns or cuts in federal spending, and others who would fit into traditional school settings.

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of institutional training has been that it recognized, more than any other federal employment and training program, that there is no easy way of preparing the disadvantaged for permanent and productive employment. Institutional skill training has emphasized not only vocational training, but programs to increase the individual's capacity to function in a changing labor market. Inherent in institutional training is recognition that in the long run the only way to help people find economic security is to provide for

an increase in their capacity to compute, communicate and comprehend at the highest level possible, and to encourage continuous training and education throughout all of an individual's working life.

CHAPTER 6

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

An evaluator of employment and training programs remarked a decade ago:

> When people grapple with overwhelming problems, their suggested solutions often follow the swings of a pendulum. Finding their attempts at a solution frustrated by the complexities of the issues, they tend to react by a complete rejection of all aspects of their initial attempts, and swing to opposite extremes." (MDTA Experimental and Demonstration Findings No. 7, USDL/MA, 1971)

One such "swing of the pendulum" occurred between the middle and late sixties when the federal emphasis shifted from institutional to on-the-job training. The 1968 Manpower Report of the President justified this turnabout as an attack on "psychological barriers to employment." The theory was that because the clients and the training institutions were hostile to each other, the provision of on-the-job training supplemented by supportive services, would be more effective in helping disadvantaged youth and adults to overcome employment barriers. OJT could not occur without the cooperation of employers who were generally reluctant to hire severely disadvantaged youth and adults. National contracts had been let with associations of businessmen and with some unions, but the results were at best ambiguous. Thousands of small, local OJT contracts had also been negotiated by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, state agencies, the Urban League and other non-profit organizations, but they had proven extremely difficult to monitor. Thus, when the National Alliance of Businessmen was formed in 1968 and began its job opportunities in the business sector

program (NAB-JOBS), it seemed reasonable to conclude that a major barrier to the initiation of OJT -- reluctance of employers -- had been overcome, and OJT became the "program of the day."

The MDTA and NAB activities encompass most of the experience with OJT for the disadvantaged. There were no separate projects for out-of-school youth, but data was compiled by age allowing focus on the youth record. In some ways comparable to OJT for those out of school, apprenticeship and the various work education programs for in-school youth deserve discussion here as well.

OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH IN OJT

Youth under 22 years of age constituted 32 percent of all OJT enrollment during 1972, the 10th year of MDTA. In 1971, such youth made up 46 percent of the NAB-JOBS enrollment, up 13 percent from 1969. Comparable age breakdowns are not available for CETA, but the youth component of OJT is undoubtedly high.

Evaluative Problems

Since on-the-job training is the normal treatment of new employees throughout most of industry, some justification was required for payments to employers for what they would otherwise provide at their own expense. That justification was to compensate employers for the expense of hiring disadvantaged persons with lesser preparation than others readily available in the labor market. These individuals who the employer would normally have rejected would require additional training, counseling, and supportive services not ordinarily provided. Federal funds would be used to reimburse employers for the extra expenses they incurred, or to buy services from other sources. Thus, OJT contracts specified:

(1) The training ordinarily supplied to new employees;

(2) The additional services enrollees would receive, either from the employer or from other agencies in the community;

(3) The compensation, if any, employers would receive for the extra expenses they incurred;

(4) The training and post-training wages enrollees would receive

There evolved essentially three types of OJT agreements:

(1) Agreements in which employers pledged to hire and train without federal compensation enrollees referred by the Employment Service or other agencies.

(2) Contracts in which employers agreed to hire and train enrollees on the job with federal compensation.

(3) Contracts in which employers agreed to hire and train enrollees on the job but purchase additional services from other institutions.

Prior to NAB, most OJT agreements were of the second type; employers were ordinarily compensated $25 per week per enrollee. Following the formation of NAB, the emphasis shifted to the third type, or "coupled" OJT, but the largest number of slots developed by NAB, so called "freebies," were of the first type. Employers expressed themselves as willing to pledge to hire the disadvantaged, but not to become involved in the contractual red tape necessary to receive federal compensation.

Efforts to evaluate OJT programs have been plagued with a host of problems, not the least of which was the difficulty in identifying and collecting evaluative information, especially on the non-compensatory agreements. Employers who were receiving no federal funds saw no reason to fill out management information forms, and government administrators and OJT contractors were reluctant to press employers too hard on this issue for fear of losing their cooperation. In addition, the following factors made evaluation difficult:

(1) Prior to NAB, thousands of small contracts for three or fewer enrollees would be negotiated in any large community; because of the lack of staff, it was virtually impossible to monitor these contracts.

(2) OJT often involved more placement than training. The training they received on the job was so informal that it was virtually unidentifiable.

(3) Because of the informality of the training process, it was extremely difficult to differentiate between "dropouts" and "completers" -- and some prime contractors reported 100 percent placement rates, merely because enrollees were placed in training slots.

None of these relate to the effectiveness, either real or potential of the OJT strategy, but they create difficulties in determining the effectiveness of the program, and the literature on OJT reflects these difficulties.

Pre-NAB OJT

Prior to NAB, the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, the federal agency then responsible for the administration of OJT, negotiated "prime contracts" with national and local organizations for the development of OJT training slots. The prime contractors then sought to develop "subcontracts" with employers for the provision of OJT to specific enrollees. The Employment Service was charged with "certifying" OJT enrollees. Theoretically, the Employment Service was also responsible for recruiting OJT enrollees, but for reasons which will be explained below, many prime contractors often did their own recruiting with the tacit approval of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. The following excerpt from a 1966 report by the President's Committee on Manpower summarizes some of the major problems encountered in initiating an expanded OJT program:

> The major overall problem with OJT is that it has been given renewed emphasis without adequate consideration as to how the thousands of contracts and subcontracts throughout the land should be supervised. Some supervision of these contracts by the Department of Labor is absolutely necessary. OJT contractors are only human. The funds they receive for job development and recruitment must be justified. The pressure from Washington for immediate statistics on the OJT program has resulted in some shoddy practices by almost all OJT contractors. Once jobs have been created within an OJT contracting agency, the battle to protect those jobs begins -- and, we might add, the battle to expand also begins. The sometimes frantic rush to create training slots that results creates problems. How good are the job openings that are developed? How much actual training is involved? Are the training slots reaching the disadvantaged? Are they being coupled with institutional training where necessary? Are adequate checks made at the training sites? Are eligible trainees being referred to OJT programs? Is there any coordination and/or cooperation between OJT contracting agencies? Who has the responsibility for supervising the overall program? Are slots being filled? Who has the responsibility for deciding just how many OJT training slots a local community can support?

The PCOM found that many so-called OJT programs were no more than placement programs for preferred enrollees -- or even for individuals already employed. Prime contractors avoided the Employment Service because employers would not accept the disadvantaged enrollees referred by the agency. In

only a few cases was it found that actual training programs, either coupled or uncoupled, were initiated for the disadvantaged. Most pre-NAB studies of OJT found that OJT enrollees were the least disadvantaged of all employment and training program enrollees. Charles A. Myers (1971) concluded that many employers were reluctant to train the disadvantaged for fear of decreasing their pools of "promotable employees." Regardless of the reasons, the federal government's initial thrust at obtaining private sector cooperation in training the disadvantaged was, with a few notable exceptions, a failure.

This raised the question whether the federal government was subsidizing employers for doing something they would have done with or without a federal subsidy. If disadvantaged enrollees were not being referred to the programs, why were employers being reimbursed for extra services that were not necessary? Piore's review of Boston employment and training programs (1969) and the Olympus Research "four city study" (Mangum and Robson, 1973) revealed that most employers participating in employment and training programs were employers of low skill employees, and that the jobs in which enrollees were being placed were low wage, high turnover jobs with few fringe benefits. The more respectable employers, apparently, were avoiding employment and training programs. Myers reported that between 1963 and 1969, 382,000 individuals were enrolled in the OJT program. Of these, 53 percent had completed high school and/or one to four years of college, 58 percent had three or more years of gainful employment, 70 percent were white, and 67 percent were primary wage earners. Clearly, these were not the disadvantaged federal policy makers had in mind when they pushed for an expanded OJT program.

There were, however, a few exceptional OJT programs developed prior to NAB -- programs which became models of their kind. For example, the Lockheed Company in Georgia and California developed a special remediation and skill training program for their OJT enrollees. According to Myers, "turnover in the Georgia plant for those who completed the program compared favorably with normal plant turnover, and the quality and quantity of work in the California plant was roughly equal to those of other new employees."

In San Francisco, the Federal Executive Board was successful in setting aside civil service regulations in order that disadvantaged youth and adults could be hired for post office employment (Mangum and Glenn, 1968). A special MDTA course was funded -- and conducted on the job site -- to help enrollees pass the civil service examination. Eighty percent of the enrollees eventually passed the examination, but even more important, it was found that program enrollees had lower turnover rates and used less sick leave and annual leave than those employed through the usual civil service process.

The JOBS-NOW program in Chicago (and later Cleveland) was a noble attempt to provide on-the-job training, supplemented by intensive supported services, for some of the most disadvantaged youth in the city (Levitan, Mangum and Taggart, 1970). Its long-range benefits were questionable, but there can be no doubt that it was one of the most important experiments of the sixties. Programs similar to JOBS-NOW, such as Work Opportunities Unlimited in St. Louis, the Jobs Clearing House in Boston, and programs sponsored by the Urban Coalition in several cities, were also notable pre-NAB OJT experiments, but there is no evidence that they made a significant difference.

NAB-JOBS

Myers notes: "The failure of the OJT part of MDTA to involve private industry in hiring the disadvantaged led manpower planners in the Department of Labor to consider other approaches to stimulate more private commitment."

The National Alliance of Businessmen was launched at the height of President Johnson's war on poverty, and during a period when the economy was booming and employers in many industries were having difficulties in recruiting workers. Hopes were high, therefore, that new energy would be pumped into the disappointing OJT program. After all, NAB would provide the missing ingredient -- employer commitment.

Was the promise fulfilled? The fact is that no one knows. Sar A. Levitan summed it up thusly: "After all the available data and studies have been examined, and after national, regional and local interviews have produced conflicting information, it must be admitted that the basic questions remain unanswered. Many employers have undoubtedly made significant contributions to the welfare of disadvantaged workers and their families, but no one can say how much difference the program has made."

According to Perry, et al (1975), "comprehensive data on the number and nature of persons served by the JOBS program are virtually non-existent and the data which are available are of questionable reliability and validity." After reviewing all the literature on NAB-JOBS and examining the meagre data available on the program, Perry made the following points:

(1) The data indicate that non-contract firms (those who pledged jobs but did not accept federal reimbusement) did not exploit their greater potential flexibility in recruiting disadvantaged workers and suggest that a somewhat "superior" group of trainees were enrolled in the non-contract segment of the program.

(2) There was little evidence that the program resulted in either the creation of new jobs or the modification of existing jobs on a significant scale for the benefit of the disadvantaged. In practice, job pledges typically were sought and secured on the basis of existing prospective openings due to normal turnover, and the resulting employment opportunities were confined primarily, but not exclusively, to entry-level blue collar and service jobs.

(3) Overall, the quantity and quality of training and other services appears to have been superior in the contract segment of the program, but the record of contract participants in providing services called for by the contracts (and for which the participants were compensated) was far from good. A GAO study reported that for 17 of 31 contracts reviewed, the contractors were providing substantially fewer services than were required by the contracts. A study made by Greenleigh Associates indicated that trainees were virtually unanimous in finding such support services as medical and dental care helpful, but that numerous respondents were unable to rate such services because they had never received them -- even though most contracts called for the provision of such services.

(4) A National Industrial Conference Board evaluation of the program clearly indicated that NAB-JOBS had little or no impact on firms that had no prior experience in employing the disadvantaged, but that it was successful in getting companies with prior experience to increase the number of disadvantaged they employed.

(5) The extrapolation of hourly or weekly earnings to annual income figures is questionable, particularly given the high turnover and low retention rates for enrollees during the early years of the program.

Finally, Perry notes that the economic slowdown which began in 1970 "had a strong and immediate impact on the JOBS program. Workers placed through the program were, in many cases, the first to be laid off in the face of slackening demand, and employers generally became reluctant to meet their outstanding commitments and resistant to any pressure to make further pledges." As a result, the program faded from public prominence, although NAB continued to function both in the area of employment for the disadvantaged and in the "Jobs for Veterans" campaign.

The Record

The above evidence is anecdotal and nonquantitative. Two national studies, one conducted in 1972 by Decision Making Information (DMI) of 5,169 individuals who either dropped out or completed MDTA training in 1969, and the other a longitudinal study of 1964 MDTA institutional enrollees and 1968 JOBS participants, shed some light on the relative effectiveness of OJT and institutional training programs for youth (Mangum and Walsh, 1973). The DMI study, which did not have a control group, revealed the gains experienced by institutional enrollees between the ages of 19 and 21 was $1,990; the corresponding figure for OJT 19 through 21 year olds was $1,952. The major source of the gains for institutional enrollees was increased labor market participation ($1,035) as compared to higher hourly wages component ($572) and improved stability ($269). The gains for OJT enrollees, on the other hand, were more evenly spread over the three components. No control group was used by DMI, partly because of cost and partly because of the difficulty of retrospectively identifying a group of non-enrollees with characteristics on the relevant variables comparable to the enrollees.

The second study compared the enrollees' subsequent five years' Social Security earnings with those of control groups matched on the basis of age, race, sex and previous earnings level and pattern (Mangum and Walsh 1973). The results showed JOBS-contract enrollees under 20 years of age gained an average of $2,137 over their pre-program earnings, and $521 more than the control group. MDTA institutional enrollees under 20 gained $2,880 over their pre-program earnings, but only $281 over the control group. For youth 20 to 24 years of age, although gains were made by both JOBS-contract ($2,071) and MDTA institutional enrollees ($3,198), both groups of enrollees were earning less than their control groups (-$76 for JOBS-contract and -$199 for institutional trainees).

Some writers have inferred from the latter group of statistics that because the costs of the JOBS-contract program were much lower than those of the institutional program, it was the preferable program. However, because institutional enrollees were more disadvantaged and less white than the JOBS-contract enrollees, such inferences are dangerous. One might also infer without adequate evidence that teenagers, who employers tend to mistrust, were made more acceptable by program involvement, while the more attractive young adults were equally acceptable without enrollment and lost in foregone earnings.

The bulk of the evidence for both pre-NAB and post-NAB OJT programs emphasizes the difficulty of obtaining a broad-based commitment from employers to participate in

federally sponsored training programs, especially when economic conditions are poor. An inter-agency task force in 1969, which included NAB representatives, concluded that the contract part of the program provided the employer "with no substantial monetary incentive to hire the disadvantaged" and that "performance is almost wholly dependent upon the employer's commitment to serving the hard core unemployed (Myers, 1971)." Since profit making organizations are not social welfare agencies, the experience supports the view that employers will give little more than lip-service to federal efforts unless participation is clearly to their advantage.

Yet, when employers do become committed, the results can be impressive. Two private programs for youth will serve as illustrations.

Equitable Life Assurance Program

When Equitable first began hiring dropouts for entry-level positions, they had a high rate of failure (Doeringer, 1969). According to Equitable's Vice President for Manpower Development, the company learned a lesson: more than mere hiring was needed. Consequently, the company set about enriching the program as follows:

(1) Encouraging supervisors: During the program's second year, the company worked with supervisors, picking those who were known to be sympathetic. It was made clear that the dropouts hired would not be charged against their regular budget or their efficiency rating. They were urged to take the challenge of preparing youngsters in one year for a job in their own or other departments. There was considerably greater success. The third year, the company told supervisors to try to prepare the young dropouts for promotion and better jobs within two years, but if they could not, central personnel would take responsibility for them. A little better progress was made.

(2) Basic education: By the fourth year, it was clear that basic education was sorely needed. The company hired the Board for Fundamental Education to teach the youngsters basic reading, writing and arithmetic after working hours so that they could pass high school equivalency examinations. Of 17 dropouts who completed this course, two were judged to be college material, six became candidates for company jobs, and four became candidates for jobs with other companies.

Open Road for Youth Employment Project

This program, sponsored by the Citizen's Policy Center (1977) features the following:

(1) The apprenticeship concept: Linking the young enrollee with a skilled older person who is willing to take personal interest in and responsibility for training

(2) Interest and allegiance: Beginning with the interests and aspirations of the young persons and involving them directly in the choice of work sites

(3) The contract education method: Spelling out specific responsibilities for the young person, the work supervisor (sponsor), and the New JOBS staff -- including time lines for the accomplishment of specific training goals

(4) Peer involvement: (a) hiring young people whenever possible to administer the program, and (b) encouraging participants to help each other through regular group meetings

(5) Personalized follow-up: Frequent telephone and in-person contacts with both participants and sponsors; organizing social events; facilitating next steps for young people by helping them work out careers

(6) Ample training time: Providing adequate time (usually from 20 to 26 weeks) in apprenticeships to ensure the development of substantive, marketable skills

More than two out of three of the enrollees are disadvantaged, and 21 percent are high school dropouts; 70 percent are minorities. It is by design that not all of the enrollees are either dropouts or disadvantated; 36 percent are high school graduates, and 43 percent have had some post-secondary education. Both men and women are enrolled in the program. Thus, the program does not fall into the trap of "segregating failure" in a special program.

Measured over the past two years, the program has had an 80 percent "positive termination," that is, placement in a permanent job or return to a related education experience. Thus, programs of cooperation between the private sector and government can work, provided that employer commitment is present. But these were small, high quality programs by highly motivated employers. They do not support the possibilities for wide scale national programs.

Youth Participation in Apprenticeship

Strangely, no information appears to be available differentiating apprentice experience by age. Although Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training procedures specify a minimum age of 16 for entrance into formalized apprenticeship programs, the official minimum tends to be 17 or 18. In practice, youngsters of minimum age face increasing handicaps in getting admitted into apprenticeship. Recent court decisions have raised legal questions regarding the legality of maximum age restrictions (often set at 24 or 25 with a year-for-year credit for ex-servicemen). In response to judicial pressures, at least one program -- the carpenters -- has virtually dropped the maximum age restrictions for their program. Elimination of the maximum age restriction will mean that youngsters will face increasing competition from older workers. Also, in practice, many programs give preference to veterans over younger workers, not only to fill veterans preference responsibilities, but also on the assumption that the added age and experience of veterans make them more mature and less likely to drop out. Similarly, married men have been favored because of assumed greater stability in work habits associated with family responsibilities.

It is ironic that during the early part of the 20th Century, and continuing on a declining basis until World War II, apprenticeship was considered a normal job entry route for youth 16 years of age and even younger. Apprenticeship is still a major route to employment for youth in Europe. Yet, in the postwar United States even 18 and 19 year old youths seemed to be considered too unreliable to be accepted into apprenticeship programs.

If the extended adolescence of U.S. youth has had an effect on their stability, it is doubtful that apprenticeship will become a viable transitional program for youth, at least during periods when labor markets are slack.

WORK EDUCATION FOR IN-SCHOOL YOUTH

"Coop" education, an educational practice wherein students spend part of their time in the classroom and part in employment supervised by a coordinator whose job it is to relate the educational offering and the work experiences, has a long history in the United States. However, the 1968 amendments to the Vocational Education Act of 1963 mandated federal funding for such programs, leading to a substantial expansion of such practices. The Vocational Education Act also provides funds for a work study program, but this offers only rudimentary job opportunities around the school to enable eligible students to earn stay-in-school money. Evaluations in 1973 and 1975 reviewed progress under those provisions and offer some insight into the effectiveness of "coop" (Systems Development Corporation, 1973, Olympus Research Centers, 1975).

The evaluators found that, in general, the students participating in coop programs were enthusiastic, well motivated and competent. A substantial number of the programs had been specifically designed for disadvantaged students and those of low academic standing. Attitudes toward both school and job were better for students with high grade point averages than for those with low grade points. However, those with lower grades were more likely to consider the program as a route into full-time employment and were more interested in the long-term outlook for the job.

There were no shortages of employers willing to participate and offer work stations, even though they paid full wages and received no subsidies for the training. The major obstacles to expansion were lack of aggressiveness among coordinators and the insistence of many schools on a part day split between school and job. Employers preferred alternating full days or weeks as more conducive to productivity.

In many of the programs, students were employed for specific jobs and received instruction related directly to their jobs. In others, they might receive varied experiences in a diversified number of occupations with their school work only generally related to the "world of work." Dropout rates were higher and student attitudes were more negative for the latter types of programs. Those in single occupation programs were more likely to respond that the program had helped them make a career choice. Nevertheless, the trend seemed to be away from single occupation and toward diversified programs. Since the diversified programs were more likely to enroll minority and disadvantaged students, their backgrounds and prospects may be more important than the type of program.

The evaluations compared participants and nonparticipants by education, sex and race. Participants expressed more positive views toward school and work than nonparticipants. Post-secondary students were more positive than secondary. Among post-secondary students, those from minority backgrounds were more positive than nonminorities, but the opposite was true at the secondary level. Women were less satisfied than men. Students in cities of one million or more population had higher dropout rates and had poorer attitudes toward their jobs than others. Yet, the big city students were more likely to recommend the program to their friends. These findings probably reflected the fact that the range of occupations available was narrower and the wages lower for women and black secondary youth than for their opposite numbers. Post-secondary minorities showed greater gains from participation than any other group.

Average completion and placement rates for secondary school students were high. Placement rates, as might be expected, were lower in cities where the unemployment rates were

higher. The quality of training and supervision and the integration of classwork and on-the-job experience were the most potent success criteria.

But the bottom line of the evaluations was a crushing conclusion. Though the attitudes of high school work education participants were much more positive than those of non-participants while they were in school, two years later, there was relatively little difference between the two groups in attitudes, current employment status, employment stability, wage levels and job satisfaction. The participants had enjoyed the coop program but it had apparently made little difference in their subsequent employment experience.

Studies of special vocational education efforts on behalf of handicapped and disadvantaged students also reviewed their experience with work education programs. Here the reports were much more negative. In most instances, the work stations to which handicapped students were assigned were not related in any way to the instruction they were receiving in school, were unskilled in nature, and were intended mainly to provide students with work experience.

State and local administrators cited the reluctance of employers and the limitations of some handicapped students as the major constraints limiting the expansion of work experience programs for the handicapped. Many employers expressed the belief that it would be necessary to effect radical changes in their working environments if they were to hire the handicapped. An additional constraint appeared to be that little was being done at the state and local levels to promote employer participation in vocational education programs for the handicapped.

In vocational education programs for the disadvantaged, work education components were primarily in low-skill, low-pay, high turnover occupations. For example, 78 percent of the tasks listed in the food service category were waitresses, food handlers, busboys, and dishwashers; 44 percent of the tasks listed under car maintenance were service station attendant, wash cars, and park cars; 67 percent of the jobs listed under office work were general office work, filing, running errands, and so forth; 80 percent of the jobs listed under child and hospital care were to take care of patients (give baths and so on) and child care (baby-sitting); and one-third of the jobs listed under construction were general labor, loading trucks, and running errands. Sex stereotyping was also evident. The evaluators concluded that there was real danger of creating a new lower track for disadvantaged youth.

THE MILITARY AS A TRAINING INSTITUTION

Of course, the largest training program for youth in the nation, involving expenditures of $6 billion each year and annual enrollments of nearly 2 million in 900 specialized skills courses, is the military. Every recruit receives basic training designed to improve employability in the service, but 95 percent also attend some type of formal technical school ranging from a few weeks to two years and averaging three to four months. In the modern military, only 10 percent are training in skills with strictly combat applications. Ninety percent of the training is related to civilian occupations, whether or not the individual chooses to or has an opportunity to pursue a related occupation.

Even now without war and with a voluntary armed force, about one American youth in ten serves in the armed forces. However, for blacks this is one in five. In fact, if black unemployment was counted against the total labor force rather than the civilian labor force, the black youth unemployment rate would fall by about one-fourth because of the numbers in the military. Whereas, blacks were 1 percent of the commissioned officer corps in 1960, they are now 9 percent. Though the military prefers to enroll the most able and best educated possible, about 35 percent of enlistees are high school dropouts.

Though many trained in the service fail to follow those occupations, the most frequent reason is nonavailability of employment in the geographical areas where the veteran chooses to settle. Since those who voluntarily chose their training occupation are more likely to follow it than those who did not, the all volunteer force should increase the proportion in training related occupations. Veterans are still more likely to find employment in a training related field than a non-training related one, and those who do earn more than those who do not. The military is the major source of trainees in a number of fields such as airplane mechanics, bakers and medical and dental technicians. Blacks and high school dropouts gain more from their training in terms of training related employment and increased income than do white male high school graduates.

Perhaps two primary lessons can be drawn from the military training experience:

(1) It is not a bad deal for the high school dropout or the non-college bound, especially if he or she is black.

(2) Skill training, whether in technical schools or on the job, is always directly job related with a training related service assignment waiting at the end of training.

Even at that, the high school dropout and those with lower mental qualifications are greater risks in terms of training completion. But if civilian training could have that guarantee of a job upon completion and be limited to the bare bones of the job requirements, the problems of motivation and of dropouts would be sharply diminished.

DESIGN SUMMARY

On-the-job training is completely dependent on the willingness of local employers to provide real jobs for program enrollees they would not ordinarily hire. Obviously, employers would be more willing to cooperate with prime sponsors when economic conditions are good or when they are having difficulties in recruiting workers. However, employers have a plethora of alternate sources of recruitment, including gate hiring, which means that they are not likely to turn to employment and training programs even during periods of favorable economic conditions. Program sponsors must seek out employers and sell them on the OJT concept. This is a good deal easier said than done, and it comes as distinct surprise that very little of the literature treats this problem directly. However, by reading between the lines, a few general principles do emerge. These, along with other comments regarding OJT are summarized below.

OJT vs. Placement

Administrators should distinguish between legitimate on-the-job training programs and subsidized placement. The justification for OJT contracts is the need of some clients for special services to bring them to a point of competitiveness with others available in the labor market. These services should be specified in OJT contracts. If no special services are to be provided, a subsidy to obtain employment may still be justified, but it is confusing and misleading to call that practice on-the-job training.

Employer Interest

The NAB-JOBS program was promoted at the highest echelons of government and industry; nevertheless, the program failed to live up to its expectations. Perhaps the most devastating conclusion regarding NAB-JOBS was the finding of the 1969 interagency task force that the contract part of NAB-JOBS provided the employer "with no substantial monetary incentive to hire the disadvantaged" and that "performance is almost wholly dependent on the employer's commitment to serve the hard-core unemployed" (Myers, 1971). This being the case, how can local prime sponsors stimulate employer interest in OJT?

An analysis of successful OJT programs does provide some clues to promotion of employer participation in OJT programs at the local level:

Turnover Rates

Some major and well respected employers, with sophisticated personnel systems (systems which discriminate against the disadvantaged), suffer high turnover rates in their entry level positions. The Equitable Life Assurance and San Francisco Post Office programs proved that by providing well-designed OJT programs for the disadvantaged, company turnover rates in entry level positions could be reduced. What appeared to happen in both cases is that disadvantaged youth, who were hungry for good employment opportunities, replaced youthful, middle-class dropouts who had no intention of making careers in insurance or post office work. The message seems to be that, if program staff can identify firms with high turnover rates in entry-level positions, they may be successful in persuading company personnel staff to at least try OJT for the disadvantaged.

Local Youth

In large cities where many of the available jobs are obtained by commuters, it may be possible to convince employers to try local youth in entry level jobs as positions become vacant. Since employers have a stake in the cities in which their places of business are located, they could be persuaded to help decrease local youth unemployment rates through the OJT concept. What do employers have to gain? Good will and possible reduced turnover, absentee and tardiness rates.

Employer-Prime Sponsor Liaison

The assignment of employer service representatives so that employers can call on specific staff members when they have problems with enrollees, with the commitment that the staff members will act immediately to resolve the problem, is an incentive for employer participation in OJT. Coordinators in cooperative education programs serve this function, and one of the reasons given for the success of the VEPS program is good employer-program staff liaison.

Employer Participation in Planning

The active promotion of employer participation on planning councils and as advisors to specific program components enhances the chances of employer participation in OJT.

Concentration on Individual Employers

In the past, too much dependence has been placed on national organizations, such as NAB, for the promotion of OJT

programs. Program staff must approach prospective employers directly. In order for this approach to be most effective, staff should be thoroughly acquainted with employer operations, including the occupations in which they hire, their turnover rates in various occupational categories, personnel practices, opportunities for upward mobility from entry-level positions, and so forth. Before employers are approached, tentative plans should be developed which can be presented to employers, and the plans should be based on a knowledge of employer operations and problems.

Maintaining High Standards

Employers should be assured that enrollees will be expected to meet high performance standards, and if they fail to meet these standards, they can be terminated. This is one of the factors which may be contributing to the success of the supported work program.

Program Enrichment

Where necessary, OJT programs should be supplemented with remedial education and other supportive services. As in the Equitable Life Assurance and the San Francisco Post Office programs, these services should be provided at the job sites and should be in addition to the hours enrollees are required to work. Supplemental supported services, as were provided by the Jobs Now program, are particularly important when dealing with severely disadvantaged enrollees.

Supervision Liaison

One of the major keys to successful OJT programs is the provision of incentives to supervisors to participate actively in the program and to take a special interest in OJT enrollees. At the very least, supervisors of disadvantaged OJT enrollees should not be penalized because of possible poor performance by OJT enrollees. If the latter is allowed to occur, in spite of the cooperation of top management, supervisors can sabotage the whole program.

CHAPTER 7

COUNSELING AND SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

No components of employment and training programs are more difficult to analyze and to prescribe for than counseling and supportive services. Not only is there a continuing debate throughout the world of education about "who counselors are and what they do," but the employment and training program is such a unique arena to counseling experience that accepted definitions and rules of professional practice are often not applicable. As for supportive services, despite all the rhetoric about the need for such services, they have rarely been provided from employment and training program funds; in most cases, counselors promoted them on a voluntary basis.

The scattered evaluative information on the effectiveness of counseling is generally negative. Wirtz notes in The Boundless Resource (1975) that guidance and counseling is by virtual common consent the weakest link in the school-to-work transition. Walther and Magnusson (1975) found in a study of NYC-2 programs that total hours and percent of enrollee time devoted to counseling, if anything, had a negative correlation with employment outcomes. Mott and Moore (1976) cited National Longitudinal Study data on 5,145 young women and found it disheartening; the extent of vocational counseling was irrelevant as a determinant of knowledge of the world of work. In Analysis and Synthesis of DOL School-to-Work Transition Programs (1976), Walther also found counseling experience to be discouraging. "No studies were located that demonstrated a positive relationship between the amount or type of counseling received and the achievement of program goals," he concluded. A number of programs, such as Job Corps and more recent supported work demonstrations, have de-emphasized counseling after gaining experience on the relative effectiveness of various program components. "Counseling in manpower programs," says Walther,

"has generally produced little success in solving problems not directly related to work; and contingency management and behavior modification systems, using rewards and other tokens, have been flashy in the short-run, but generally ineffective over a sustained period of time."

The literature in the field of supportive services generally describes such services and discusses anecdotally how they were organized and implemented and what occurred as an apparent result. Although these studies are of some value, they do not shed light on the impact or the cost of supportive services. To reach conclusions about these issues a more rigorous study methodology would have to be applied including:

- Evaluation of impact, including the use of control groups
- Replication of the program (Do the same results occur when different program operators do the same thing?)
- Isolation of the relative cost effectiveness of supportive services
- Relative cost effectiveness of using existing supportive services as opposed to developing separate resources

Until such studies are conducted, program operators will have to depend upon the unverified experiences of other service deliverers to determine the role supportive services should play in program planning and implementation.

Although the above paints a relatively gloomy picture of the effectiveness of counseling and the provision of supportive services, it is likely that these components have been useful to many, especially to youth. It would be as dangerous to conclude on the basis of available data that counseling and supportive services should be curtailed or discontinued as it would to advocate their expansion. In order to present a more balanced view of the counseling function (and with it, the provision of supportive services), an overview of counseling in two important institutions -- the Employment Service and MDTA skills centers -- is presented in this chapter. The descriptions are preceded by a discussion of the types of counseling that have emerged over the years, and followed by a summary of recommended counseling practices.

The Employment Service overview is based on a paper by Miriam Johnson which was prepared especially for this project. The overview of skills center counseling is based on ORC's evaluation of MDTA skills centers (1971). The section

on types of counseling and the Design Summary were adapted from Walther's Analysis and Synthesis of DOL Experience in Youth Transition to Work Programs (1976).

TYPES OF COUNSELING

Walther classifies the types of counseling used in youth programs as insight counseling, personal problem counseling, and contingency management. He supplies rationale and critique for each to which should be added employment and vocational counseling.

Insight Counseling

The goals of this counseling technique are to increase the understanding that the individual has of himself and to correct distorted perceptions of the world and self. The focus is on all aspects of the personality, and usually little attention is paid to specific work problems because it is felt that more basic issues interfering with functioning should be tackled first. The primary technique used is personal and verbal interaction between the counselor and clients.

A persuasive theoretical case can be made for the need to increase the accuracy of the perceptions of youth, but, unfortunately, this type of counseling, when it is used as the primary counseling strategy, has not proved to be beneficial to hard-to-employ youth. This conclusion is based on the present state of the art and the counseling skill level available to employment and training programs. The correction of perceptual distortion should be a continuing goal of counseling programs, but should be focused primarily on perceptual distortions related to labor market activities. Efforts to accomplish more have not been successful and are probably beyond the current reach of such programs.

Personal Problems Counseling

Youthful clients of employment and training programs have a wide range of serious problems which may be interfering with their ability to function in various aspects of their lives. It seems reasonable to conclude that these unsolved problems are limiting the quality of their participation by diverting time and energy from their vocational pursuits. While this may be true, counseling activities within employment and training programs have achieved very little success in solving problems not directly related to work. It thus seems best to focus counseling on problems which might keep the youth away from the job or training classes, such as transportation, child care and the

like. Other problems are frequently beyond the ability or resources of the counselors to solve and should be turned over to other agencies which specialize in the particular type of problem.

Contingency Management

Contingency management is the purposeful application of reinforcement principles to achieve desired behaviors. Contingency management involves the manipulation of the learning environment so that desired behavior is fostered.

During the past few years, contingency management has been introduced into a number of programs and spectacular successes have been reported during the first few months of the application. These programs typically used money, or tokens, or free time as incentives. The youth earned points on the basis of their behavioral achievements and these points were converted to tokens. The tokens could be converted into free time, prizes of various sorts, or perhaps money.

Investigation of these programs several years after they had reported initial success showed in each case that the program had failed to maintain its initial progress and had been discontinued. They apparently broke down because they became too difficult to administer and the incentive value of the reinforcement tended to diminish.

Two things seemed to happen. First, trainees soon tried to beat the system and to gain points without earning them. To the degree that the efforts to beat the system were successful, other trainees became very concerned about the fairness with which the points were issued, resulting in a great increase in the record keeping requirements.

The vigilance of the staff had to be increased to prevent cheating and the time spent on complaints also increased. At the present state of development, programs based on tokens, money, or other tangible rewards are probably not worth the effort and, in balance, do not achieve good results.

Contingency management principles, however, can be used very effectively in planning particular employability programs. The notion that a training and employment program should start at the point where the trainee can achieve success and then move by small reinforced sequential steps to a skilled performance is a powerful idea. Counselors who are trained in behavioral modification techniques have effective tools for increasing the motivation of trainees and for guiding their performance. To apply them, however, it is generally necessary

to develop individual prescriptions for each student rather than to have general practices which can be applied to all trainees in the same way.

Employment and Vocational Counseling

It may come as a surprise that counseling related to work situations or to vocational and career decision making comes at the end of a typology related to employment and training programs for youth. That is the reality, however. Young enrollees of such programs are typically beset with such personal problems that counselors tend to become embroiled in those to the exclusion of work-oriented concerns. As reported in Chapter 4, after a brief period of use, prevocational orientation to alternative occupational choice disappeared from training programs under the reality of limited options. If enrollees were to fill slots in specified occupational programs, there was no use tempting them with alternatives that did not exist. Work experience programs were conceived as tiding enrollees over a difficult age rather than as preparation for working careers. The future opportunities of enrollees were generally conceived to be limited with little reason to add to frustration by exposure to what program administrators generally conceived to be beyond reach. Genuine information on labor market opportunities, current and future, was scarce and counselors generally were unfamiliar with what labor market information was available. Their exposure to work situations outside the classroom and counselor's office were limited. They could not counsel on what they did not know. There were notable individual exceptions where experienced counselors could advise on work attitudes and conduct needed for the work place, but generally, if personal problems were obvious and would impede employability while the employment prospects were vague, why not concentrate on the known?

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE COUNSELING EXPERIENCE

Employment Service counseling is noteworthy because it underwent drastic changes prior to and during the 1960s which resulted in the infusion of new personnel into the agency and the adoption of new techniques to meet the needs of a clientele it had never before served. Prior to the 1960s, there occurred a shift in counseling personnel from those promoted from experience as interviewers to those hired from outside the agency on the basis of academic credentials. This shift, rather than contributing to substantial improvements in Employment Service operations, actually resulted in a de-emphasis of the agency's counseling operation. It was merely one of the many swings of the Employment Service pendulum in which everything that went before was thrown out in favor of new and untried policies and

techniques. What was lost was the labor market experience, or the knowledge of local labor markets, that old-time counselors brought to the job.

The most significant change in youth operations occurred in the mid-1960s when Youth Opportunity Centers were initiated, and a crash program was launched to provide supplementary staff (counselor aides and youth advisors) for local YOCs. In order to understand how significant this change actually was, a description of pre-1960s counseling operations precedes the description of the YOC effort.

Pre-1960s

Prior to the 1960s, Employment Service counseling was limited to -- and was called -- employment counseling. The main emphasis was to assist young men and women make occupational choices and carry out counseling plans, which included the development of stop-gap work, and the search for entry jobs in the clients' chosen fields. Little emphasis was placed on psychological problems, and when these arose, referrals were made to other agencies. The Employment Service did not consider itself an all-purpose agency; its expertise was employment, and its services, including counseling, were limited to the job-matching or employment field.

Although the Employment Service did have poor clients -- in fact, the majority of its placements were then as now in low-wage, high turnover occupations -- because of its policy regarding youth counseling, counselors dealt with few youth who had severe educational, psychological or emotional problems. Its counseling operation was directed toward the lower middle class, and the counselors reflected the middle class image. Their message to young clients was something like this: "Look at me and be like me if you want to be successful." "Like me" meant to be properly dressed, fairly humorless, impersonal, business-like, and kind but bureaucratic. Most of the counselors were Caucasian, and although they called their young clients by their first names, their own desk-nameplates read "Miss Smith" or "Mr. Jones."

With the onset of the sixties, all this changed -- and changed in an amazingly short period of time.

The Transition

One of the most serious concerns of the planners of the YOC concept was personnel. Who would staff the centers? Not only was there a national shortage of counselors, but most existing Employment Service personnel were considered too rigidly bureaucratic to develop and administer a new delivery

system and counseling approach. Consequently, between 1963 and 1964, a crash program was designed to train approximately 2,000 counselor aides and youth advisors in an eight-week summer training program in designated universities throughout the country. Called CAUSE I (Counselor-Advisor University Summer Education), the program was repeated with some variations in the summer of 1965 (CAUSE II) for approximately the same number of trainees.

CAUSE was an effort of rather massive proportions to infuse the agency with new people, new concepts and new directions in counseling. That the YOC program died primarily because of its impotence to resolve the highly complicated problems of its clients does not mean that the effort was an out-and-out failure -- the ES is a different agency today than it was in 1950 -- but it does mean that something very drastic went wrong.

YOC Era

With the establishment of YOCs, counselors adopted a new image. In contrast to the relatively somber "silent message" delivered to clients by pre-YOC counselors, the 1960s communication went something like this: "Please like me and accept me as 'your kind.' I'm looking at you and I'm trying to be like you. See. I wear the same kind of clothes you wear, talk your language, wear your hair-do, and accept your values. If you like me, hang around, come daily, depend on me. I know how to help you because I understand you."

The technique was successful in enticing disadvantaged young men and women into YOCs and the adoption by YOC personnel of the mores and mannerisms of the "outs" facilitated communication. In the last analysis, however, the success of the YOC concept depended on whether change could be effected in the lives of the program's disadvantaged young clients. As it turned out, understanding was not enough. One old-time San Francisco youth worker put it this way:

> An awful lot of meaningless activities went on in those YOCs under the names of "counseling," "rapping," "rapport." But I must admit that, although I have spent most of my life working with youth, I hadn't dealt with those youth and I, like other ES staff, was subject to culture shock. We saw young people acting out their hostilities and we had to accept it; they were ungrateful, uncaring, didn't want to work and subject to severe pathologies, like drugs. The fact is that we really had been accustomed to an essentially middle class population,

and the youth we were accustomed to came to us. But, I admit to disillusionment, especially with the permissive approach. It simply didn't work.

What went wrong? The problem was that many of those young men and women who were acting out their hostilities to friendly personnel were unacceptable to employers, and there wasn't anything YOC personnel could do to change that situation. Undoubtedly, there were many YOC clients who could have benefited from the type of counseling that the Employment Service does best -- employment counseling, but YOCs were designed to provide a different type of counseling -- one in which the agency had little expertise. In retrospect, it appears regrettable that the old could not have been combined with the new, but given the era during which YOCs were established, this probably would have been impossible.

SKILLS CENTER COUNSELING

Counseling was an important component of the overall program in most MDTA skills centers. After extensive examinations of counseling in 19 centers and intensive study in five centers, ORC concluded that counseling was the heart of the skills center operation. If it had not been for the presence of counselors, absentee rates would have been higher and hundreds of enrollees might have been terminated for cause. Literally thousands of enrollees received minor and major medical services, dental care, child care and legal aid through the interventions of skills center counselors. Many argued that such intercession could not be legitimately called counseling. But the functions were necessary and had they not been performed by counselors, there would have been no one else to intercede.

The Skills Center Atmosphere

Counseling as it was carried on in skills centers differed markedly from counseling in a college or high school situation. The needs of the enrollees were more basic and immediate than those of most college and high school students. Two counselors: one who had been on the job for slightly more than six months, and the other who had been a skills center counselor for five years illustrate the setting.

The junior counselor:

> On my first day, I reported for work at 8 o'clock in the morning. At 8:15 I was at my desk and at 8:20 the phone rang. It was the auto body instructor, and he said that he had a student that he thought was high on heroin, and would I mind talking to him. All kinds

of thoughts ran through my mind, like what am I supposed to do with him, but all I said was send him down. The guy came floating in and sat down. I introduced myself, and he smiled. When I asked him questions, all he did was smile. I don't know whether he was high on heroin or not, but he was high on something. I ended up smiling back at him for about ten minutes and then I asked him to leave. He just smiled. What are you going to do in a case like that? Eventually, his brother came and took him home. He never came back again. List him as a dropout. Well, ever since that first day, it's been more of the same.

The senior counselor:

> Every Monday morning, a new crop of enrollees comes to the center; and they bring problems with them you wouldn't believe, like teeth that hurt so bad they can't concentrate, no place to sleep that night, and -- no money, no money, no money! Some of them you have to take care of -- if you can -- even before you fill out the information sheet. Well, you've already got about 100 enrollees in here that are hurting, so what do you do? You try to take care of the ones that are hurting the most -- and you don't succeed all the time, not by any means.

The problems of skills center counselors were aggravated by the simple fact that, considering the problems of the enrollees, there were not very many counselors. The ratio of enrollees to counselors in 17 of the 19 centers was 73 to 1, ranging from a high of 181 to 1 to a low of 42 to 1. The ratio appears generous compared to high schools and post-secondary education institutions where 400 to 1 is more common. School counselors working under such ratios complain that they are able to find time only for those with serious multiple problems. But most skills center enrollees would have been considered problem clients in a regular school system. Enrollee-counselor ratios this high when almost all are troubled, the counselors complained, did not leave much time for the application of sophisticated techniques.

Characteristics of the Skills Center Counselor

The intensive 19 center study was sufficient to establish a profile of the typical counselor. More than 82 percent held a baccalaureate degree or above, and 38.5 percent held masters degrees. The average counselor was about 39 years of age, and had slightly less than 14 years of experience as a counselor.

Slightly over 50 percent of the counselors were white, 41 percent were black, and about 9 percent were Mexican-American. Sixty-five percent were men.

Counselors came from many walks of life. In one center, two counselors were ordained ministers; others had been athletic coaches, minority organization staff, teachers, truant officers, welfare workers, social workers, probation officers, and Employment Service counselors, among other fields. One counselor described his qualifications as follows: "I have been a black man since before I was born. I am an articulate black man and I emphathize with people who are more hard-up than me."

Most counselors maintained that race makes little difference in counseling, although one black counselor said that, in a center of predominately black enrollment, there should be more than one black counselor. "If there is only one," he said, "the enrollees say he is the establishment's black man. If there's more than one, it looks more natural." Others said that young, white counselors make the mistake of being too lenient with black enrollees, and older black counselors make the mistake of being too hard on them. Young counselors, especially young, white counselors, had to avoid the temptation of going "native," that is, becoming over-identified with the enrollee, and, as a result, being played for a soft touch. Older counselors, on the other hand, had to avoid proselytizing and talking in platitudes which have little meaning to today's disadvantaged youth.

Female counselors were as apt to be counseling male enrollees as females and vice-versa. There were some problems, however, that girls preferred to bring to female counselors, such as pregnancy and other problems relating to female-male relationships. Male enrollees were as apt to open up with women as they were with men. In fact, one female counselor thought the men often made a game of trying to shock her.

Most skills center counselors interviewed were unwilling to specify the best academic preparation for counseling in a skills center. They thought psychology courses helped, as did training in group relations, but believed a person without training in these and related subjects might make a better counselor than one better trained but more academically oriented. One counselor put it this way: "Some people are just naturally good counselors. It's an intuitive field and you either have it or you don't. The art of being a good counselor is something you cannot learn in school. Some courses can help, but they can also hinder. I've seen good counselors go away to school and come back bad counselors. They became self-conscious theorists instead of intuitive counselors."

Yet no one was prepared to declare professional training useless. Another counselor said: "Everybody who is a father is

a counselor in a way. So are doctors, lawyers and teachers. The 'counselor-counselor' is really a detached but interested person. He is also a worker. He must seek solutions to problems nobody else has time to fool with." Every counselor is a combination of training and experience, and no one seems prepared to recommend the mix or the academic background most conducive to success.

Goals of Counselors

While counselors might argue what counseling was, enrollees knew how they had been affected. One enrollee in a group counseling session compared counselors to chaplains in the Army: "You tell them your troubles and they punch your card for you." Some enrollees complained about counseling in general, but praised their particular counselors. Others said that counselors helped them get eyeglasses, medical aid, or a reprieve from a jail sentence. Still others complained: "They don't do anything for you."

In each center, counselors were asked to describe the goals of counseling in a skills center setting. The answers were many and varied:

> ". . . help enrollee become job ready."
>
> ". . . help enrollee solve personal problems."
>
> ". . . help people reach point where they can keep a job."
>
> ". . . serve as a buffer between enrollee and instructor."
>
> ". . . help enrollee adjust to training situation. . . ."
>
> ". . . help enrollee develop life goals. . . ."
>
> ". . . deal with problems that affect an enrollee's ability to learn."

Some simply described what it is that counselors actually do, namely: seek solutions to emergency problems, meet with enrollees regarding attendance, attend staff meetings regarding enrollee progress, mediate disputes between instructors and enrollees, conduct orientation sessions, administer achievement tests, and perform the necessary paperwork.

Counselors seldom mentioned vocational guidance as one of their goals or responsibilities. When questioned specifically, most responded by saying that the enrollee had made an occupational choice (or a choice had been made for him) before he

entered the skills center. There was little evidence of concern for the long term career development of the enrollees. "The skills center," said one head counselor, "is more of a simulated work situation than a school. It is the counselor's job to help the enrollee 'make it' in training-related employment."

When asked whether all enrollees were enrolled in the courses most suited to their aptitudes, the majority of counselors admitted frankly that they did not know, and that probably nobody knew. The problem seemed to be that the range of occupational offerings was limited, and that most enrollees shared similar characteristics. "It isn't as if a hundred different courses were open to numerous enrollees of varying characteristics," one counselor said. "For females, there are only two, maybe three courses to choose from. If we didn't think they fit any of the courses, what could we do? Recommend another program? What other program?"

Supportive Services

One of the guidelines for the designation of a skills center was that supportive services (such as medical aid, dental care, legal aid, child care, transportation, and similar services) be available to all enrollees. Since there was no budget for the provision of these services, they were promoted, or as the enrollees saw it, "hustled." The designated hustlers of supportive services in all skills centers were the counselors. In two centers, social workers helped counselors fulfill this responsibility, and, in one center, three social worker aides were the lone counselor's sole support. In four centers, school nurses helped in providing minor medical care and promoting major medical care.

The acquisition of supportive services was both a source of satisfaction and frustration to counselors. Eyeglasses, free dental care, physical examinations, remedial medical treatment (both major and minor), psychiatric help, and help with drug and alcoholic problems were provided to enrollees through the "hard hustling" of counselors, yet it was estimated that less than 50 percent of the need was met in the general medical field. Illness was one of the major causes of dropouts, not just illness of enrollees, but family illness as well.

Counselors estimated that despite their best efforts, less than 30 percent of the need for child care was met, which probably accounted for "care of family" being another major reason for dropouts, especially among female enrollees.

Every center had problems with alcoholism and drug abuse. Even if only a small percentage of the total enrollment of a center was involved, problem drinkers and possible addicts took

up a disproportionate amount of a counselor's time. As one counselor put it: "It takes time to discover whether or not a person is an alcoholic or on drugs. They just don't come out and tell you, and it's not as obvious as it might seem. If you do discover that you've got an alcoholic or addict on your hands, you just can't throw him out on the street. You have to try to find him help, or convince him to find help. And it's harder to find help for a drug addict or an alcoholic than for almost any other medical problem."

One center reported calling regularly on 20 agencies for supportive services, ranging from Alcoholics Anonymous through the school lunch program to Planned Parenthood. Some counselors had become experts in promoting free services from private doctors and dentists. Others concentrated on either providing legal aid, or counseling enrollees on legal problems. Vocational rehabilitation agencies provided help in some centers; in others, counselors discontinued referring enrollees for lack of response. In at least one center, however, the state vocational rehabilitation agency relieved counselors of the entire medical problem. All disadvantaged enrollees were enrolled as vocational rehabilitation clients. This meant that their medical and dental needs were taken care of, not only while they were at the center, but after they left as well. In another center, a vocational rehabilitation counselor spent part of his time at the center. He had regularly scheduled meetings with enrollees in need of help and was able to direct some resources into the program.

The problem of providing supportive services to enrollees was one of the most difficult problems skills centers faced. It took up a greater portion of the counselor's time than any other activity, and despite heroic efforts by counselors, the need was not fully met.

The Counselor as Disciplinarian

Skills center counselors throughout the country disagreed on the appropriateness of their role as center disciplinarians. Regardless of how they felt, however, in most skills centers discipline was the counselor's responsibility. The range of the disciplinarian role varied from a virtual "truant officer-counselor" in one center to discipline tempered by enrollee advocacy in most centers.

The major disciplinary chore performed by counselors was the keeping of attendance records. This lead to "docking" enrollees for unauthorized absences or excessive tardiness, a sensitive point for enrollee-counselor relations. Those who were against the assignment of any disciplinarian functions to counselors maintained that the counselor could not at the same

time be an enrollee advocate, and a law enforcement officer. They argued that an enrollee is not likely to seek advice from a counselor who the day before caused him to be docked a day's pay. These counselors made it clear that they were not arguing for a permissive approach to counseling. They believed that a counselor could be more objective, even more stern, with enrollees if they were not saddled with the responsibility of discipline. "it's one thing to disagree with an enrollee," a counselor remarked, "it's something else to say do it my way or I'll punish you." In general, the anti-discipline counselors believed that the counselor should be the enrollee's advocate within the center administration. If the counselor was a disciplinarian, this was impossible. Rather than enforce the rules, counselors should be able to bend the rules in favor of deserving enrollees.

On the other hand, many counselors disagreed with this position. They argued that counselors were the most appropriate disciplinarians because they were enrollee advocates. Instructors were more concerned with the success of their classes than with individual enrollees, and the chief concern of administrators was the overall record of the center. If instructors and administrators had the last word about discipline, regardless how strong a counselor might advocate, it was unlikely that the enrollee's position would be given sufficient consideration. "Instructors always think they're being given the dregs of civilization," a counselor remarked. "If they had their way, half the center would be terminated for cause." Some counselors were vehement about maintaining their right to discipline or not to discipline enrollees. "I don't want any administrator or instructor fooling with my enrollees," a counselor said. "They like to justify excessive action on the grounds that this is a work situation. Well, it may be <u>like</u> a work situation, but it's still a school and these enrollees have hang-ups that deserve consideration."

Employment Counseling in Skills Centers

Employment Service counselors were on-site on a full-time basis in 13 of the 19 centers, and on a part-time basis in four centers. Only two centers did not utilize Employment Service counselors on-site.

Most skills centers had Employment Service counselors outstationed full time, in addition to the counselors of the skills center staff. Theoretically, the Employment Service was supposed to supply "employment counseling"; the centers "personal counseling." The Employment Service counseling, therefore, was to be directed toward advising enrollees on labor market conditions, what they must do (or not do) to obtain and keep a job in their particular trades, and other matters relating to employment. Personal counseling, on the other hand, was conceived as helping enrollees recognize and

solve personal problems and adjust to the training situation. However, the distinction was rarely made in practice. It was impossible to perform employment counseling without taking into account the personal problems of the enrollee, and it was equally impossible to perform personal counseling without taking into account the realities of the labor market. As a result, both Employment Service and center counselors ended up doing the same thing.

In addition, most Employment Service counselors were not labor market experts: they were counselors. In fact, most Employment Service counselors were "expediters." In nine centers which had Employment Service counselors on-site, their main function was to track down missing allowance checks, or make corrections on enrollee forms which may have been causing mistakes in the amount of enrollee allowances. They also served as liaison officers between the skills center staff and the local Employment Service office, and performed other paper work. They were counselors in name only.

There was general agreement at all centers that most instructors knew more about the labor market than either administrators or counselors. The vast majority of skills center instructors had years of experience in the skills they were teaching. They knew what employers demanded of their workers, and what they were prepared to offer employees. They generally had excellent contacts within the various industries, and included as part of their overall approach to teaching, tips on how to get and keep a job. Counselors, whether they were employed by the Employment Service or the center, could not match that expertise.

DESIGN SUMMARY

Based on the experience of the past, Walther (1976) concluded that counselors have their biggest impact "when concentrating on vocational objectives." The experience of counseling in both the Employment Service and skills centers appears to support this conclusion, although skills center counseling was a good deal more comprehensive. Walther suggests the following goals for youth counseling:

> Vocational information. That the chances of youth making a good labor market adjustment tend to increase with the supply of vocational information is supported by research evidence. Providing the youth with information about the vocational options available is an important goal of counseling. This includes information about specific occupations and education or training resources which could help prepare them for the occupation.

Vocational exploration. Individuals vary in their abilities, interests, and values. The youth need to test themselves against the requirements and satisfaction potentials of the occupations they may wish to consider. To do this they need to know both about themselves and about potential jobs and relate one to the other. This can be done through reading, conversation, visits to job sites, or through job experience.

Job seeking skills. Many youth are not aware of all the sources of information about job vacancies and all the techniques which can be used to locate jobs. Helping them develop or improve their job seeking skills can make a significant contribution to improving their employability.

Job application skills. Helping the youth develop or improve their job application skills included giving them practice in taking tests, preparing resumes, and conducting job interviews. This type of counseling can often be done most effectively in a group setting.

Better understanding of own behavior. The youth can often be helped by increasing their understanding of the effects that particular behaviors have on job performance and supervisory ratings.

Career advancement skills. Skills in advancing their careers after they enter the labor force can be very helpful in the long run. The youth needs to understand the importance of reputation as a worker and how reputations become established. They also need to think of each job as a preparation for the next and how to avoid being trapped in a dead-end situation.

Helping youth resolve work problems. During the course of a training program problems will inevitably arise, such as conflicts with supervisors, fellow workers, or other individuals in the work situation. Assistance in resolving these problems both permits the training to continue and can help in the personal development of the youth.

Helping improve job performance. The youth need to be aware of areas in which their job performance is below standard and ways in which they can improve performance.

Constructive use of assignments. The assignments should be part of a developmental employability plan. Counselors can be very helpful to the youth by recommending assignments to a job or activities which will provide them with needed learning experience at a level of difficulty appropriate to their stage of development and at a time when they are ready to learn from their experience.

Walther concludes:

> Counseling should be conducted both on a one-to-one and a group basis, and the vocational focus of the counseling activities should be maintained when either method is used.
>
> Individual counseling is useful for discussion of highly sensitive topics and for in-depth analysis of problems. Group counseling both conserves the counselor's time and provides for useful group interaction. Specific goals should be set for each individual or group counseling session. Unstructured, sensitivity training types of sessions appear to have no measurable impact on the youth.

All of this seems sound advice but the record would suggest that it is drawn from what did not happen in employment and training experience. Since it is a recommendation to do things sharply different from past practice, there is no way to be assured that it would, in fact, make a difference.

CHAPTER 8

PLACEMENT

An employment and training program can be defined as a group of discrete activities designed to enhance the position of an individual in the labor market. The various components that constitute such programs have evolved over the years, and most are optional, i.e., they may or may not include an outreach effort, occupational skills training, OJT, counseling and various supportive services, among others. The one activity, however, that can never be optional, without which all other components lose meaning and value, is placement -- the movement of a participant into a job.

But, what is "placement?" Is it an actual component or a result? It is both. Enrollees may obtain jobs on their own, without the help of any intermediary, perhaps as a result of the services they received while enrolled in programs, or they may obtain jobs through the intercession of placement interviewers or counselors, with or without taking part in other program components. Because placement is both a component and result, its effectiveness is difficult to assess. Researchers have found it extremely difficult to isolate the placement function from other factors such as program quality and economic conditions that could have an effect on enrollee employability. Riegelson (1972), in commenting on placement efforts with respect to Job Corps, concluded that "although placement services are very important to the overall success of the Job Corps, the enrollee gains in wage rates found cannot be attributed primarily to placement efforts." Nevertheless, Job Corps data showed that the wages of enrollees who received placement services were $0.15 per hour higher than those of enrollees who found jobs on their own.

Virtually all assessments of youth programs conclude that "job development and placement should be a highly visable,

priority element of a training and employment program." (Walther 1976). Yet, few authors clearly define job development and placement, and many confuse these terms with other program components such as subsidized job creation and on-the-job training. Although enrollees are placed in subsidized jobs and in OJT training slots, these cannot be considered placements in the true sense of the word. Subsidized employment is temporary in nature and is expected to help individuals prepare for permanent, unsubsidized employment. OJT should be primarily a training program, and its enrollees cannot be considered placed until the stipulated training period has been completed and the enrollees either remain with the host employers or find other jobs.

Placement as a component of an employment and training program involves three major functions:

(1) Job matching: Matching agency job orders with the skills, qualifications, interests and other pertinent personal attributes of clients.

(2) Job development: Promotional activities to develop job orders for employment opportunities from public and private sector employers for the specific purpose of placing agency clients.

(3) Providing agency clients with employment and career counseling, job search information, and training in job search techniques.

A comprehensive placement operation includes all three of these subcomponents, and it is the consensus of most writers in the field that youth -- especially disadvantaged youth -- have more to gain from fully operational placement services than any other group. They frequently lack information about how the labor market operates, how to conduct a search for work, how to assess their own strengths and weaknesses, and the channels into employment in different occupational and industrial areas. In addition, the disadvantaged often lack the family guidance and role models that aid other youths in their transition into the world of work.

The history of placement operations over the past decade and one-half reflects more than any other employment program component a series of responses to challenges which resulted from federal intervention in the development of human resources. In the beginning, placement consisted solely of job matching, or arranging interviews for clients with prospective employers. When program emphasis shifted to the disadvantaged, job development -- or the active promotion of job opportunities for clients employers would not ordinarily hire -- was introduced. Later, when agencies found themselves with inadequate job orders and training slots to meet the needs of their clients, the "self-help"

concept emerged -- helping clients to find jobs on their own by means of the provision of labor market information and training in job search techniques.

Miriam Johnson, whose contributions to the literature on placement and related activities (including the influence of labor market intermediaries) are among the most valuable in the field, was herself once the manager of an Employment Service Adult Opportunity Center in San Francisco's Western Addition. She explained in her 1967 monograph, The Workshops, how and why she trail-blazed a new kind of placement service. "It wasn't long," she said, "before our clients knew that the Emperor had no clothes." The number of jobs and training opportunities on order at the center could serve only a small percentage of the clients.

Realizing this, Ms. Johnson directed her staff to "tell clients the truth." The new message went something like this: "Look, we have nothing for you, but if you want to find a job, we'll help you." Workshops were established in which unemployed men were assisted in assessing their strengths and weaknesses, selecting the general fields in which they would look for work, and completing resumes. They were also provided with an orientation to the local labor market, including who controlled the jobs, (personnel departments, labor unions, professional associations, and so forth), and were given assignments to look for work with specific employers. Using inactive Employment Service job order files, employers were identified and assignments made. Participants returned and told about their experiences on the job hunt. Not only did many of the participants find jobs, but they also learned a good deal about the local labor market and hiring processes than they ever knew before.

Each of the placement components listed above are described in the sections which follow, but particular emphasis is given to the self-help concept, primarily because of its pertinence to young job seekers, but also because it is the most recent of the ever-emerging employment and training services for both youth and adults. The chapter concludes with a section on professionalizing the placement function. Much of the material in this chapter is taken from Miriam Johnson and Marged Sugarman's pamphlet, CETA Program Models: Job Development and Placement (1978), and material written by various authors to be included in a labor market analyst's handbook being prepared by Olympus Research Centers and soon to be published by the Employment and Training Administration.

JOB MATCHING

Job matching consists simply of the defining of the requirements of job openings and filling them with qualified

applicants. Until other agencies became involved in placement in the mid-sixties, the Employment Service was the primary public agency concerned with placement, and job matching was the method by means of which the agency fulfilled its placement responsibility. Employment Service technicians developed techniques to appraise the jobseeker's work history, skills and education and to assess the tasks and skill requirements of the job. Both job and applicant were assigned the code that best reflected these factors from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (DOT). This coding is the critical first step in the process of matching qualified applicants to job openings by the "file search" method.

Good placement interviewers developed a following of employer "gatekeepers" who had confidence in their selections. Retaining the employer's business ensured a high placement count, and placement interviewers strove to give the employer exactly what he wanted. In such an atmosphere, less skilled or radically unacceptable applicants were given short shrift.

Interviewers were given intensive training in the DOT coding system, in occupational variables, and in industrial classification. Staff people were also trained in interviewing techniques, the use of job order and application forms, and in approaching employers. Understanding labor market processes figured lightly in agency training programs, since the alteration of the market's configuration was not part of its mission. However, staff generally absorbed knowledge about labor markets through continuous dealing with applicants and employers.

Criticism of the Employment Service is rampant throughout employment and training literature. The agency has been accused of incompetence, racial discrimination, and bureaucratic lethargy. While no one can gainsay the fact that most of the agency's placements have been in low-wage, high-turnover, casual occupations, one can question whether this was a result of incompetence or just plain impotence. The Employment Service has no control over the labor market, and employers are under no compunction to place job orders with it. Furthermore, if employers were reluctant to use the agency prior to the 1960s, their reluctance grew even stronger when national policy switched to the disadvantaged. The Employment Service and other agencies associated with employment and training programs became the advocates of the least employable individuals in society. It is ironic to note that in the early days of the OJT program, minority organizations acting as contractors in seeking OJT positions did everything in their power to avoid Employment Service recruitment -- not because the Employment Service was straight-laced and middle-class oriented, but because their potential subcontracting employers would not accept the severely disadvantaged applicants it often referred. The

result was that, in order to "beat the numbers game," minority contractors were recruiting workers who were acceptable to employers, and therefore, became susceptible to the same criticism usually directed toward the Employment Service.

The point is that all intermediaries -- the Employment Service, private employment agencies, and community based advocates -- are dependent on employer acceptance of their services. If employers do not place their job orders with the various intermediaries, or refuse to hire intermediary referrals, failure is the result. A sympathetic attitude toward the disadvantaged is not enough to win employer approval; in fact, it can hinder it. Placement agencies must establish a reputation for reliable referrals.

Notwithstanding the fact that employers were not willing to place the bulk of their better job orders with the Employment Service, the system established by that agency for accomplishing the job match was thoroughly professional. No better model has emerged to date. Many of today's placement operations could benefit by learning more about Employment Service job-matching techniques.

JOB DEVELOPMENT

Job development is one of the more ambiguous terms in the employment and training lexicon. It has undergone changes in meaning, depending upon the agency, the policy and the times. According to the Employment Service field office manual, the current definition is:

> . . . the activity that involved the working with public or private organizations and business to develop job opportunities. Also the process of soliciting a public or private employer's order for a specific applicant for whom the field office has no suitable opening currently on file.

This incorporates two types of activities. One is conducted by placement interviewers dealing directly with an individual applicant, and for many years this was the only definition of job development in common usage. The other is a broader, less contained activity and has generated considerable difference in interpretation through the years. To a large measure, it has come to mean influencing the employer's recruitment process so as to direct the flow of jobs to a particular agency for the benefit of its clientele.

In a broader sense, job development activities have been aimed at the redistribution of existing job opportunities and at redefining their specifications and entry requirements to permit access for the disadvantaged. Together with other

community groups, efforts have been directed at altering employer policies that act as artificial barriers against hiring and upgrading the less competitive segments of the work force, including youth. Such activities have produced changes in testing criteria and the relaxation of rigid exclusions in civil service. With respect to occupational training programs, job development may involve the efforts of program operators to obtain the prior commitment of employers to hire a specified number of graduates.

Perhaps the most spectacular job development effort of the 1960s was the noncontract component of NAB-JOBS. The "job developer" was the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, who managed to get a commitment out of major American businessmen to hire the disadvantaged -- job development at the highest level.

A review of the literature of the 1960s reveals that the terms "job development" and "job creation" have often been confused. The creation of new jobs takes many forms: creating new demands for goods and services and, thereby, a derived demand for labor; dividing job tasks (as was done in the medical field); reducing the work week; and providing temporary jobs through subsidized employment. Each of these requires a different approach to the marketplace and to employers than developing access to existing jobs for special target groups.

CETA regulations make a clear distinction between the two types of activities by grouping job development and placement together and, in another section of the regulations, describing job creation activities. From an operational standpoint, the separation makes sense. Each involves different techniques and is usually carried out by different types of personnel.

No evaluations were identified which attempted to isolate the job development component from other program activities, but it is universally accepted that programs with placement and job development components were more successful than those which ignored the placement function. In fact, one of the reasons why early NYC work experience programs had relatively little effect on the post-program experience of enrollees was that placement was not built into the programs, while the work experience itself had little relationship to the real world. As a result, although the programs provided income maintenance to youth and kept them off the streets, they had little effect on the employability of the youth they were designed to serve.

ALTERNATIVE PLACEMENT MODELS

In almost every arena of life, people are today exhibiting less and less passivity toward occurrences which in other times may have been borne with stoic resignation. The

effects of poverty, of dull repetitive jobs, of bureaucratic arbitrariness, of race and sex discrimination, of shoddy consumer goods and services are being resisted in a variety of ways: a neighborhood group fighting a high rise; a class action suit against a rise in utility rates; health care patients negotiating for an ombudsman to represent their needs to professional administrators -- and unemployed youth and adults participating in job search workshops in order to prepare themselves to find jobs on their own. In order to understand the significance of the emerging self-help approach to job search programs, it is useful to review standard techniques which view the client as essentially a passive actor to be acted upon in the placement drama.

The Casework Approach

The model for employment and training service, which came to dominate the field in the 1960s and is still evident in the CETA legislation, was essentially a medical one -- people are "sick" and, as such, require diagnosis and treatment by experts. Offices abounded with counselors who wrestled with the massive personal problems of their clients as they attempted to induce, say, addicts to forego their addiction in favor of a welding course. Volunteer tutors taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Vocational rehabilitation redefined its eligibility criteria in order to extend its services to the disadvantaged. While all manner of approaches, techniques, and systems to deliver this broad spectrum of services were tried, only a few of the most significant are described here.

In California, for example, the one-stop idea gave rise to the State Service Center. Centers were established in ghetto areas, which combined the services of all state human resource agencies such as the Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation as well as county welfare agencies. The pitfalls inherent in a multi-agency operation became overwhelming and only a few State Service Centers remain in existence. However, the experience strongly affected the direction taken by the Employment Service for a period.

Working with other staffs within the State Service Center, the Employment Service was exposed to the casework approach utilized by the other agencies. In time, the casework discipline was introduced into all Employment Service offices located in poverty communities. Personnel were given extensive training in casework techniques and writeups. The commitment to this technique reached such absurd proportions in some areas that a jobseeker walking into an office in need of a job would be confronted with an assignment to a caseload -- although it might involve a three-week wait before processing could even begin.

The idea of assigning intimate, ongoing, and many-faceted responsibilities for a client to an individual staff member took many forms. The job coach was responsible for getting the person to work on time, solving personal problems which interfered with the work life of the client, and intervening with the employer when a client had difficulty on the job. The "job agent," a concept adopted from an experimental program in a small California community, was the epitome in case responsibility. The job agent classification was established by legislative mandate with the passage of the California Human Resources Development Act in 1968. As advocate and provider of all services to a caseload of the most severely disadvantaged, the job agent was to do it all -- develop training and employability plans for each case, procure training and related services, review and evaluate their progress, place them on jobs, follow up after placement, and assist them in overcoming obstacles along the way.

Counselor, placement interviewer, job developer, salesperson, coach, psychiatrist, and scrounger -- the job agent was all of these. Since funds for the job agent to buy services for the clients were never forthcoming, the job agent had no more resources than the outreach placement interviewer, and usually less experience. As portrayed in an evaluative report by the California Assembly Office of Research, job agents spent "an unnecessarily extensive amount of their time . . . hustling up a pair of shoes for a client or other emergency needs." The concept for all practical purposes, was abandoned.

From the Concentrated Employment Program emanated the reverse staff-client ratio -- a team of "experts" to serve each client. This clinical (and costly) approach focused more staff resources upon the problems of the individual client than any other delivery system. A CEP team consisted of a job market analyst, an employment specialist, a placement specialist, a job development specialist, and a job coach. Each expert concentrated on one small aspect of the process. Although the employability development team was subsequently adopted by the Work Incentive (WIN) program, the model was finally abandoned. The team did not prove to be significantly more effective than individual professionals in obtaining results; it was inordinately expensive and team efforts were difficult to coordinate.

The efficacy of the social work-caseload approach to employability problems on a wholesale basis may be seriously questioned. An agency can provide a referral either to a job or to a training slot if one or the other is available and the individual is qualified. It can provide motivation and skills in manipulating the marketplace. It can provide education and knowledge. Under no circumstances, however, can it provide the same kind of supervision as that of the

parole agent or the welfare social worker, nor does it hold the same kind of power over the client. Certainly, jobseekers don't tend to view themselves as "cases," even if they are poor and black. This became obvious when most of the "cases" simply disappeared.

The Job Search Approach

The job search approach is at the heart of the self-help concept. It assures that if job match and job development efforts fall short of the mark, experienced placement staffs can nevertheless provide a valuable service in helping clients to find jobs. The concept is based on several realities:

(1) Many jobseekers, especially youth, do not know how to make realistic assessments of their own skills and experience, prepare themselves for the job search, write resumes and have at their disposal all of the information required by employers, identify employers who are most likely to hire individuals with their various educational, skill and experience qualifications, identify and approach those in employer establishments responsible for hiring, conduct themselves well at job interviews, and identify other intermediaries which may control segments of the labor market.

(2) The vast majority of job seekers (65 percent) find jobs without the intercession of intermediaries.

(3) Job search skills <u>can</u> be taught, and placement personnel, because of their knowledge of local labor markets, are generally the most qualified to teach them.

Many job search programs initiated by state and local agencies have been shortlived, primarily because the agencies have never developed a means whereby successful results could be incorporated into measures of accomplishment. The budgetary system funds the Employment Service for making placements but not for assisting job seekers to find their own jobs. Thus, where no extra funding has been provided for job search programs, agencies and local offices have tended to suffer financial repercussions for operating in this arena. Nevertheless, the success of several prototype programs has demonstrated the value of job search services, thus increasing the likelihood of further Employment Service efforts. This section explores some of the requirements of job search preparation.

Job Search Components

Job search programs generally have the following components:

(1) Job seeker self-analysis: With the aid of counselors, either individually or in group sessions, jobseekers analyze their educational, skill and experience qualifications; occupational interests; and other factors which could effect their opportunities to obtain employment. The ultimate outcome would be decisions regarding the industrial and occupational areas upon which individual jobseekers would concentrate.

(2) Jobseeker preparation: Again, with the aid of counselors, jobseekers prepare resumes and obtain all information generally required by employers on application forms.

(3) General orientation: Jobseekers are provided with across-the-board information regarding employer hiring practices, interview techniques, grooming, and other aspects of the job search.

(4) Confidence building counseling: Jobseekers are provided with counseling designed to help them concentrate on their strong points and minimize any factors, such as arrest records, age or youth, handicaps, etc., which may work to their disadvantage.

(5) Practice sessions: Clients practice filling out application forms, being interviewed by "employers," and actually searching for work by applying for work at designated places of business.

(6) Information exchange: In group sessions, jobseekers relate their experiences in searching for work, exchange information about possible job opportunities, and discuss each other's strengths and weaknesses in applying for work.

(7) Use of reference materials: Jobseekers are trained in the use of reference material regarding individual industrial and occupational areas of concentration to expand their knowledge of potential employers, entry routes in the various industries and occupational areas, wage rates, fringe benefits, promotional opportunities, other conditions of employment and employer hiring practices.

(8) Localized information about specific employers: Jobseekers are supplied with information about specific employers in the local areas -- information designed to increase jobseeker knowledge of employer operations, aid the jobseeker in selecting employers to whom to apply, and anticipate the types of questions employers may ask potential employees.

Not all job search programs contain all of the above components, but most contain the majority of them. Programs may vary according to the characteristics of the clients being served, local labor market differences, and other factors. Regardless how programs may vary, however, one of the major purposes of all programs is to provide jobseekers with specific information about the types of workers hired by local employers, and guidelines for jobseekers to follow in adapting generalized information to a specific search task. This is the responsibility which must be shouldered by the labor market analyst.

Job Search Information

The search for work is a skill in itself, and a major component of that skill is the ability of jobseekers to identify and use information. A first step in any job search program is to instruct individuals in how to use existing reference materials regarding supply and demand in local labor markets, industry hiring practices, entry routes into various occupational areas, employer requirements pertaining to journeymen, subprofessional and professional qualifications, and other information of help to individuals in conducting the job search. As such, they have required the active participation of labor market analysts, not only in supplying the necessary information, but also in presenting the information in a manner which is well organized and easily understood by both placement personnel and the job seekers. Much of the information necessary to assist jobseekers in conducting the job search has never before been compiled in a manner especially designed to help placement personnel conduct job search seminars, or enhance the labor market sophistication of jobseekers. Logically, the compilation of such labor market information rests with the labor market analyst in the State Employment Service. However, accepting this assignment requires research and analysis units not only to conduct research over and above that which they routinely perform, but to make a marked shift in direction from the production of generalized labor market information to the production of more specific data designed to aid Employment Service staff in carrying out localized job search programs.

Despite Employment Service limitations, there is no institution better situated for the production of labor market information and job search data. Agencies which do not have the research resources of the Employment Service but which seek

to initiate self-help job search programs, must seek cooperative arrangements with state, area, or local Employment Service offices. Several CETA prime sponsors, for instance, have entered into financial agreements with the Employment Service to provide labor market information for their job search programs. These arrangements can be expected to multiply as the teaching of job search skills grows as an employment and training program component.

Generally speaking, five types of information are required for job search programs:

(1) Identification of employers for practice sessions: Clients enrolled in job search programs are often assigned the task of applying for work in actual establishments. In order to accomplish this, employers must be identified, and as much information as possible must be made available to the enrollees. A good source of this kind of material are agency closed job orders. These orders contain a wealth of information about employer skill, experience and other requirements. Employers can be selected who hire in occupations which match the skills, experience and interests of clients enrolled in job search programs.

(2) Gaining access to employers: Most job search programs concentrate on helping jobseekers gain access to employers through their own efforts, which may in some cases mean a prior step of gaining access to intermediaries that act in behalf of employers, or that employers are compelled to use, such as civil service commissions and unions with hiring hall arrangements. Such information includes the following:

(a) The impact of labor market intermediaries on local labor markets and segments of local labor markets. Such intermediaries include labor unions, employee and professional associations, civil service commissions, school placement services, publicly supported training programs, apprenticeship programs, private employment agencies, the help wanted ad sections of daily newspapers, as well as the Employment Service.

(b) The range of employing establishments, by industry and occupational area, that hire through personnel departments.

(c) The range of employing establishments, by industry and occupational area, that hire

"at the gate," or which do not have personnel departments and which do not use intermediaries for all hires.

(d) Information on how to use and respond to want ads.

(e) Information on how to gain access to intermediaries, such as labor unions, which control segments of local labor markets.

(f) Information on the operation of civil service commissions, including "open registers," and what is required, by occupational area, in order to obtain civil service status.

All of this, as well as other aspects of gaining access to employers, may require a good deal of research over and above that generally available, but it is vital to the success of job search programs.

(3) Appropriate means of access: Armed with information on how to gain access to employers, jobseekers must now determine the appropriate means of making known to potential employers their availability for work. Should they phone first, send resumes and then phone, or just drop in unannounced. The preferred means of access vary considerably from industry to industry and from occupational area to occupational area. Where the preferred means of access is known, this information should be made available to enrollees in job search programs. This is an area where a considerable amount of experimentation on the part of jobseekers should be encouraged, but in some instances, the selection of the wrong means of access could cause damage to the jobseeker's chances of obtaining employment. Clients should be informed in advance of the types of situations where this is likely to occur.

(4) Reference materials: Job search programs also provide instructions to enrollees on how to use reference materials in developing job search strategies, and present well organized displays of such materials for the use of clients. Reference materials include occupational guides, materials on do-it-yourself job development, employment-related community facilities, career exploration and preparation information, and information on current job openings.

(5) Information re specific employers: In addition to generalized materials, job search programs also use information about the hiring habits of specific employers. Such information includes:

(a) Descriptions of the products and services produced or delivered by specific employers, including the characteristics of operations which make individual employers unique in their various areas of expertise.

(b) Descriptions of the occupational characteristics of employing establishments, including the range of skills hired in various occupations, and requirements for entry-level jobs.

(c) The willingness of various employers to hire special groups of jobseekers, such as younger workers, older workers, women in non-traditional occupations, handicapped workers, and job seekers with arrest or conviction records.

(d) The wages paid by employers, by occupation, fringe benefits, working conditions, opportunities for advancement, and other similar information.

(e) The impact of collective bargaining agreements on employer hiring practices, and other special conditions which affect the hiring habits of specific employers.

(f) The names of individuals, or the titles of individuals, who are responsible for new hires in local employer establishments, the existence or non-existence of personnel departments, and other such information regarding access to employers.

This type of specific information makes it possible for jobseekers to become knowledgeable about the operations of specific employers in the community, and to relate their capabilities to employer needs. If jobseekers are knowledgeable of employer operations, and confident of their ability to fit into those operations, they are far more apt to be successful in gaining access to employers, and conducting themselves well at interviews.

Features of Successful Job Search Materials

Based on the experience of past and existing job search programs, there are four general characteristics of successful job search information:

(1) The mode of dissemination must be suited to the task covered. For example, current job openings should be collected from all sources possible and posted in their original forms in a single location for jobseeker perusal. If this is done, the job search information unit becomes a clearinghouse of information on open job orders.

(2) All materials produced as handouts for clients should be short and concise. Simple phrases, or sentences expressing the essence of an idea, are more likely to be read than longer narrative blocks. In addition, materials that address jobseekers directly or express ideas from the jobseeker point of view, have been found to be more effective than those which use the third person form of address.

(3) Material of relatively short currency, e.g., apprenticeship test dates or data on the hiring patterns of specific firms, should be developed in a form permitting easy disposal and update, such as individual flyers or looseleaf notebooks.

(4) Material which has a relatively long life and which is relevant to the majority of jobseekers, such as overviews of the job search process or detailed coverage of specific search techniques, warrants a highly polished and highly palatable format.

Prototype Programs

Three information systems models for job search programs, each with a somewhat unique focus, are cited here for possible replication. The first, called the Job Search Information Service, was designed by Arthur I. Shiigi (1974) as a component for job information service sections of local Employment Service offices. It provides a plan for developing and presenting a comprehensive inventory of job search information, some obtained directly from formal intermediaries, the remainder developed from scratch, for use by Employment Service applicants on a self-service basis.

The second, designed by James Neto and Marged Sugarman (1974), focuses on firms within local labor market areas which customarily hire individuals through informal recruitment means. The information is tailored to meet the needs of jobseekers in high volume, high turnover occupations, and the system is designed to maintain the currency of the information it produces by means of user feedback.

The third system, designed by Eiliene Schwartz (1974), is a workbook for practicing and recording job search techniques and skills acquired in job search workshops. The workbook was developed over an extended period of time in conjunction with job search workshops conducted at the Mission District local Employment Service office in San Francisco.

PROFESSIONALIZING THE PLACEMENT FUNCTION

Whether the placement function is performed by the Employment Service, a CETA prime sponsor, or other subcontractors, there are a few basic elements that must be regarded as essential for administering a successful placement operation. These are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Planning and Coordination

Although the various elements of a program should always be coordinated, it is most essential when there is a classroom training component involved. For example, dropout rates are bound to be higher and placement rates far lower if those staff people involved in the selection of trainees are not intimately knowledgeable about and able to impart details relating the training to the local job scene that awaits the graduate on the completion of the training.

At the very beginning, trainees must be given a true picture of their chances for being employed, the wages, and the upgrading opportunities, and they should be told that they are expected to make job search efforts on their own behalf. Otherwise, participants will have been denied the body of information necessary for them to make a rational decision and a serious commitment. The result of such haphazard selection is discouraging to the client and damaging to the program Also, if the job developer has no contact with the class members prior to the completion of the course, or does not contact the training instructor for an appraisal of each participant, people will be matched to the wrong jobs.

It is possible that the responsibility for planning and coordinating the various components are better undertaken by the prime sponsors that by each program operator. With some uneasiness, one visualizes a welding course in a skills center that is composed of clients from four different subcontractors, each with its own job developer, all descending simultaneously upon the same classroom instructor or the same employers.

One of the most persuasive arguments against the proliferation and segmentation of employability development organizations is the resulting stream of job developers all knocking on the employer's door to capture openings. There

have been endless efforts to overcome this problem. In fact, the centralization of employer relations programs within the Employment Service was designed to spare the employer from excessive proselytizing. However, it is not clear whether, in the process of reducing the problem, worse ones were not created.

When asked how she handled this problem, one of the most knowledgeable and successful CETA directors declared: "I don't handle it. I just let it happen. It's only the major, large employers who are so victimized, and they are prepared and equipped to take that kind of pressure." According to this view, it is better for each group to maintain its own initiative and make its own efforts than it would be to centralize and bureaucratize the placement function.

Staff Training and Development

When the Employment Service first became visible in poverty communities, the great concern was to staff these offices with people who talked and looked most like the target population. The agency was culled, new people were hired, and community workers became overnight counselors. "Rapport" and "able to relate" were the qualities that were most sought in staff people, and ethnic consciousness was part of the training. Six months later, those who managed the offices would have welcomed just one trained and experienced old-time placement interviewer -- despite the fact that the person might be white, bureaucratic, and even prissy -- so long as the operator knew the labor market and how to call an employer, how to get the right person, how to line up a job, how to work systematically, and how to keep a record of what went on. Moreover, it is certain that the clients would have appreciated it as much as the easy "rapping."

Systematic training of staff in the essentials of placement is a must, as are supervision, follow-up, and quality control. Periodic, careful review of documents reveals patterns of inadequate performance on the part of staff and provides clues for necessary training. Staff development, however, is something more than "how to." In a sense it is educating the staff to become labor market experts. This requires knowledge of occupations, local market employers, and industries, training in interviewing techniques, knowledge about job search techniques, theoretical understanding of the labor exchange process, knowledge about competing agencies and about the local union structure -- the list is as endless as the need to learn and keep learning about any profession. The Employment Service still retains the best body of procedural and training tools for placement staff that exists anywhere. Familiarity with it is the starting point for a professional staff.

Tools of the Trade

There is a tendency among placement staff and job developers to limit their efforts to a comparatively small group of familiar employers known to the agency. This produces tunnel vision, a limited view of the market and of the alternatives for manipulation that are possible for the client population. Whether the outcome is direct placement, indirect placement, or a strong self-help job search component, there is a vast need to widen that view.

A program operator must learn the firms that hire persons in the occupational clusters for which CETA clients are being trained, as well as where to direct people to look for their own jobs. It is necessary to know the firms that have well-developed internal markets and employee training provisions, those that provide fringe benefits or other services, the sizes of the firms, their usual recruitment processes, and many other kinds of relevant information. Necessary tools, then, include a charting of the employer community and a method of storing and retrieving such information.

DESIGN SUMMARY

The whole section "professionalizing the placement function" is written in design terms. Job search training is an area needing more research and development, but far more is already known than is being widely implemented. The major obstacle is a reward system which funds and gives credit to agencies as freely for helping workers to find their own jobs as it does for a direct intermediary role.

CHAPTER 9

THE "FOR WHOM" FACTOR

The title of this monograph asks the question: "What works best for whom?" Most of what has gone before concerns the "what works best," with only fleeting references to significant segments within the youth population. The problem is that the major focus of the literature has been on the effectiveness of varying service components for all youth. In fact, the literature search failed to identify one document which attempted to break down the youth target group by varying characteristics that could affect their employability or designate the types of programs which would be most appropriate for improving the employability and employment experience of each group. Nevertheless, the problem must be addressed and the few available insights must be identified and explored.

SEGMENTING THE YOUTH POPULATION

Terms such as "disadvantaged," "hard-core disadvantaged," "dropouts," "potential dropouts," which are used extensively throughout the literature, imply discrete categories of youth with special employment problems. Within each of these groups, however, the individual variations are as numerous as they are for the youth category as a whole, thus making it extremely difficult to generalize about "what works best for whom." In addition, the major objective of employment and training programs is the solution of structural unemployment problems, yet many of the target populations suffer from problems that are outside the realm of structural unemployment solutions. This can be best illustrated by citing the following premises:

(1) Youth in general: All youth, whether they be disadvantaged or non-disadvantaged, lack work experience, knowledge of the labor market, and job skills.

(2) Disadvantaged youth: In addition to the above, disadvantaged youth suffer from poverty and, often, educational retardation.

(3) Minority disadvantaged youth: In addition to (1) and (2) above, minority disadvantaged youth often suffer from cultural disorientation, language difficulties, racial discrimination, and lack of jobs in the areas where they live.

(4) Hard-core disadvantaged youth: Hard-core disadvantaged youth may suffer from all of the conditions outlined above, but in addition must contend with severe psychiatric and psychological problems, arrest and conviction records, drug and alcohol problems, lack of motivation, anti-social behavior, and severe mental and physical handicaps.

The question arises as which of these debilitating conditions can be treated by employment and training programs. The answer is not as easy as it may seem at first glance. Obviously, employment and training programs can provide work experience, personal and employment counseling, skills training, remedial education, language training, and, when the funds are available, subsidized employment. In the absence of racial discrimination and with favorable economic conditions, these services may be enough for some youth. But, for which youth. Should all youth with severe psychiatric and psychological problems, chronic offender records, histories of disruptive behavior, and drug, alcohol and motivational problems be barred from employment and training programs? Should they be isolated in special programs? If the latter is the answer, what kinds of programs should be funded for them?

There is no simple answer to these questions. With few exceptions, most programs directed solely towards the hard-core disadvantaged, or those that isolated the hard-core, have been failures -- at least according to prevailing statistical norms. Yet, some such youth have been helped and, because of their participation, are living normal lives. Unfortunately, it is not possible to profile successful and unsuccessful participants. As little is known today about the characteristics of successful and unsuccessful employment and training program enrollees as was the case in 1962. In addition, knowledge of which program approaches or components contribute most to success is equally bereft. One reason for this is that most evaluators have applied economic criteria to programs which, by necessity, were partially sociological in nature. Few attempts have been made to measure sociological gains; employment and training programs have been judged solely on their ability to accomplish economic goals -- the reduction of structural unemployment, and the relief of cyclical unemployment.

It is ironic to note that employment and training programs are most apt to benefit individuals who do not have serious personal problems, yet their target groups are those who are most apt to have such problems. This is an issue which has never been given adequate policy consideration at any level. Employment and training programs are not a panacea for the nation's economic and sociological problems, and if they are to be most effective, this fact must be recognized. If employment and training programs are to enroll the least employable individuals in society, they must be coordinated with other programs designed to treat non-economic barriers to employment. Most drug addicts are not about to give up their addiction in order to enroll in a welding course. The evidence indicates that chronic offenders are not going to be satisfied with a $2.50 an hour work experience job. Youth with basic education achievement levels below the sixth grade level are not going to blossom into computer programmers. The majority of youth who are "making it" in the irregular economy are not going to join group job search programs. In most cases, individuals with records of disruptive behavior in and out of school are not going to undergo sudden conversions because of the intercession of program counselors.

All of this leads to the unhappy conclusion that there is no definitive answer to the question "what works best for whom?" The most that can be done is to generalize about the appropriateness of service strategies for some categories of the youth population. However, these generalizations are based on the assumption that the individuals within the various categories do not have unique problems which defy treatments available from employment and training programs. Two groups for which this assumption may be doubtful merit special discussion.

Hard-Core Unemployed

As has been noted many times in previous chapters, the segregation of hard-core unemployed youth into separate programs appears to contain elements of built-in failure. Walther (1976) pointed this out with respect to the NYC-2 program; Mangum and Walsh (1973) with respect to MDTA institutional training; and several writers regarding Job Corps. However, recent experience with the supported work concept indicates that under certain conditions such programs can have beneficial results. But there is a difference between recent and past efforts and that difference may be the single most important factor affecting the outcomes of employment and training programs for the hard-core disadvantaged. Whereas past programs have been reluctant to discharge disruptive enrollees for cause, the more recent programs have actively sought to weed out the troublemakers. The result is an environment more conducive to the maintenance of high standards and individual accomplishment, despite the serious problems of the enrollees. This approach makes sense.

It recognizes that within the general category, "hard-core," there are individuals who are motivated to succeed in the labor market, and others who are not yet ready to make the necessary adjustments. Although all the evidence is not yet in, it may be that groups of enrollees with severe personal problems can provide each other with the support necessary for eventual success. Certainly, this has been true with respect to programs for the severely handicapped; it may also prove to be true for non-handicapped individuals who fit the appellation "hard core."

Offenders

Employment and training program for offenders can be credited with several major accomplishments, including the following:

(1) The creation of alternatives for the offender and for the criminal justice and correctional systems where none had previously existed.

(2) The creation of linkages between and among community agencies to focus on offender problems.

(3) The initiation of change in social institutions and state regulations.

(4) The increase of general public and business awareness of the special needs of the offender population.

As important as these contributions are, and granting the fact that many offenders and ex-offenders have benefited from employment and training programs, the overall results are not encouraging. A 1973 review of research and development projects in the correctional field (Manpower Research Monograph #28) concluded as follows:

> . . . we entertain no fantasies about the degree of change which manpower projects for the offender can help to bring about. Some offenders will remain unemployed and unemployable no matter what programs are available. Some employers will resist hiring the offender despite efforts made to reduce irrational fears and to provide both employers and offenders with supportive services. Some members of the criminal justice correctional institutions will defend against reform regardless of the collective evidence indicating long-term benefit. Some members of the public will always be blind to social injustice and discriminatory practices around them, notwithstanding exposure through the media.

Programs for juvenile and youthful offenders have been particularly discouraging. Youthful offenders were by legislative mandate a target population in early programs; since that time it has been concluded that older offenders are the better risk. The major reason for the turnabout is that previous employment experience appeared to be the predictive variable which had the highest correlation with enrollee success in offender programs. Since youthful offenders had little employment experience, the conclusion was reached that greater program success could be obtained by concentrating on older offenders.

Experience with employment and training programs for offenders tends to support the conclusion that programs targeted for the hardest of the hard-core generally have poor performance records. However, there is no doubt that some youthful offenders have been helped by such programs, and recent experience with the supported work program indicates that further experimentation is called for.

STRATEGIES FOR SEGMENTS OF THE YOUTH POPULATION

As has been previously noted, the evidence of what service components work best for various segments of the youth population is at best skimpy and at worst non-existent. Attempts to isolate both the characteristics of successful enrollees and the service components which are most appropriate for enrollees with varying characteristics have not been successful. Nevertheless, a few general conclusions do emerge:

In-School Youth

In-school youth who are enrolled in employment and training programs are generally disadvantaged, potential dropouts, and failures in both academic and vocational subjects. They often have high absentee and tardiness rates, have difficulties in finding and holding jobs, and often are in trouble with the law. The mission of employment and training programs for this target population is extremely complicated. Obviously, one of their purposes is to help prepare in-school youth for eventual participation in the labor force. Others are to reduce school dropouts, provide income to needy students, and to increase student motivation to master academic and vocational curricula. The service strategies which appear to be most effective vary by the age of the in-school group. For example:

Youth under 16

The most effective strategies for youth under 16 have been career exploration and prevocational education programs. Well structured career exploration programs, which feature

exposure to various occupational alternatives, have been credited with increasing student interest in school and reducing dropouts. Pre-vocational programs have served two purposes: (1) helping students to discover their innate interests and abilities; and (2) helping counselors and teachers to learn more about the strengths and weaknesses of younger students.

16-17 year olds

Work experience has been the major strategy for 16-17 year olds, often combined with classroom instruction in specific skills or more general world of work instruction. For some 16 and 17 year olds, skill training has also been an effective strategy. Most of today's 16-17 year old youths, however, have not made definite decisions regarding careers; thus, if the training provided is too narrow, it could have a constraining effect on students. It should also be noted that career exploration is as important for this group as it is for their younger counterparts.

18 year olds and imminent school leavers

All youth can benefit from job search programs and employment counseling, but it is particularly effective for those in-school youth whose entrance into the labor force is imminent. The few job search programs which have been tried with high school students have been highly successful -- perhaps more successful than any other employment and training program strategy.

Out-of-School Youth

Strategies which have been found most successful for out-of-school youth also vary by age. For 16-17 year old youth, work experience and on-the-job training have been more effective than skills training. For some 16-17 year olds, programs of complete remediation, such as Job Corps, have been effective. Others have benefited from conservation work and public service employment, although participation in the latter by 16-17 year olds has not been extensive. Skills training has been more effective for youth in the 18-25 category, although on-the-job training has also been effective for this group. Comparing work experience to other forms of subsidized employment, older youth benefit most from subsidized jobs which provide them with a legitimate employment record. Thus, public service employment in jobs which are well integrated into host agency personnel structures are the most valuable for them.

Youth in Need of Remedial Education

Whether they are in or out of school, youth whose skills in basic education subjects are in need of upgrading benefit

most from programs which either alternate basic education instruction with work experience, or integrate the instruction with skill training. Programs which consist solely of basic education instruction in the classroom have been the least successful with youthful enrollees.

Racial and Ethnic Factors

Generally speaking, the racial and ethnic backgrounds of youth are not a significant determinant in selecting a service strategy. There are two major exceptions to this rule, which will be discussed below, but for the most part, other factors such as age, interests, employment experience, educational attainment and personality traits are the major determinants. The two exceptions apply to youth who are weak in the English language, and to native American youth. Obviously, the inability to get along in English is a major barrier to employment in most areas of the country and the solution is instruction in English as a second language.

With respect to native American youth, it has been found that, contrary to experience with other racial and ethnic groups, special programs which enroll native Americans only are often more successful than programs where native Americans are integrated in regular programs. One of the problems of youth who have been isolated on reservations is culture shock. They often find it difficult to either communicate with or keep up with youth from the mainstream. Special programs which gradually expose clients to the dominant culture appear to work best for this group. This conclusion applies to native Americans who have been raised on reservations; it does not necessarily apply to those who lived most of their lives outside the reservation.

Isolated Youth

Isolated youth, whether they reside in remote rural areas or in central city ghettos, share similar problems, and although the approaches to delivering service components to them may vary, the service components are the same. Both groups often are adversely effected by a lack of jobs and a lack of knowledge of the labor market, employer demands, and disfunctional life styles. In addition, central city youth often are under heavy peer pressure to conform to ghetto life styles, including participation in the irregular economy, and experimentation with, or even addiction to, drugs and alcohol. Rural youth, on the other hand, are more apt to be ignorant of the world of work as it exists in urban population centers and have far fewer opportunities for gainful employment than city youth. In addition to such traditional service components as work experience, skills training

and remedial education, isolated youth benefit most from intensive personal and employment counseling, job development, subsidized employment, and job search training. It is obvious, of course, that the approaches for delivering these services may be, and often are, quite different for city youth than they are for rural youth, but within the arsenal of tools available to employment and training program administrators, those listed above appear to be the most needed and beneficial to isolated youth.

DESIGN SUMMARY

One overwhelming conclusion of the literature search and review is that too little is known about: (1) the characteristics of successful employment and training program enrollees; and (2) service components which have the greatest positive impact on enrollees with varying characteristics. In addition, our knowledge of how the vast majority of youth successfully make the transition from school to work without the benefit of intermediaries is also woefully lacking. The above comments regarding "what works best for whom" are admittedly superficial, or could be grouped under the heading of common sense but they constitute all that the literature has to offer.

Research to zero in on the characteristics of successful and unsuccessful youth and to isolate those service strategies which have both the most and least potentially positive impact would be difficult to design. However, the results of such research, especially better knowledge of how most youth successfully make the school-to-work transition, could lead to more realistic programming.

CHAPTER 10

LESSONS FROM EXPERIENCE

Rereading the literature concerning employment and training programs for youth is not an encouraging exercise. Most everything that has been done has been useful and helpful but not very fundamental. There has been much to tide youth over a difficult period of their lives but not much to change the basic difficulties underlying high unemployment among youth. There has been much aspirin but no cure.

But perhaps cure is not the appropriate prescription. Some unemployment among youth is inevitable, desirable, and even necessary. It seems almost inevitable that those without experience would be at a competitive disadvantage vis a vis those with experience -- unless the new entrants have attributes of sufficient desirability to offset the experience factor. Most youth have limited responsibilities and minimal pressures for steady work. There are also other sources of income than jobs. Given that no job can be really tested for its desirability without actually trying it on, there is no other adequate alternative for career exploration. But how much unemployment is enough? Poor families are deprived by income loss of any member. The National Longitudinal study supplies strong evidence that those who suffer extensive unemployment in youth are more likely to do so as adults, even when the data is controlled for sex, race, education, and similar factors. Youth unemployment is bound to be some multiple of adult rates, but should that be the three to one ratio of 1963 and 1977 or the five to one of 1969? Or should it decline to two to one? There appears to be sufficient reason to find three to one too high; but how is it to be reduced? What of the past efforts have promise? The answer would seem to be that individuals can be helped to greater income and employment stability by some of those measures. Given enough resources, significant numbers of youth can be sucked out of the unemployment pool. But nothing

in the past seems to promise substantial reduction in the youth unemployment differential nor promise significant improvement in the process of transition to successful adult labor force member.

There are numerous ways past and present measures can be improved. To summarize what has been said in earlier chapters:

Outreach was an overrated service, even in earlier years. Now all potential target groups are sufficiently alerted that no social program really has to search for customers.

Assessment is necessary as long as there are more claimants than slots and as long as a variety of services are available for client groups. Judgments must be made and objective criteria is needed. There are no really satisfactory techniques. But Chapter 3 discussed some of the substitutes available.

The record is reasonably clear that more participation in work experience programs, without program enrichment of various kinds, is ineffective in reducing school dropouts, encouraging youth to return to school, or in improving the employability of youth. It does provide income and take youth off the labor market. There is some evidence that crime rates were reduced somewhat and the work experience certainly does the participants no harm. However, work experience combined with career exploration or other learning opportunities has shown more promise.

Public service employment and subsidized private employment, on the other hand, are as effective in developing employability as any other employment. The youth learns to meet job requirements and conduct him/herself in an acceptable manner or the job does not last, just as would be the case in any unsubsidized job. Good habits can be developed and a reputation for stability established. The contribution of work experience programs can be improved and the promise of subsidized public or private employment fulfilled if:

(1) Work experience programs are not overloaded with unmotivated and seriously disadvantaged youth.

(2) Jobs are "real" with productivity required.

(3) Staff combine a rapport with youth to firm discipline and production requirements and consider training to be an essential part of the assignment.

(4) The experience includes learning the coping skills of good attitudes and conduct as well as job skills.

(5) Career exploration is clearly visualized as a product of the program.

(6) Good performance is documented and made a matter of record for subsequent placement.

Institutional training has, on the average, resulted in increases in annual earnings sufficient to justify the costs but has been limited in its results by concentration on low level, high turnover occupations and segregation by student body and facilities. The lessons are:

(1) The need to involve disadvantaged with advantaged youth in training in attractive facilities in a respected training institution but to include the supportive services for the disadvantaged students to successfully compete.

(2) To train in occupations which are in demand and are at a level of skill which normally requires such formal preentry training.

(3) To incorporate the best training practices available to give the trainees preparation at least equal to the best available in the community.

(4) Link training with aggressive placement efforts and preferably with guaranteed employment opportunities.

On-the-job training has more often than not been a misnomer -- a semantic guise for subsidized employment. To be worthy of the name, OJT programs must include carefully defined and substantial training in job skills, in coping skills, and if needed, basic education. The military experience illustrates primarily the value of a direct tie between training and a job.

Counseling is a useful adjunct to employability development and placement if it helps the youth come to a better self understanding, recognize the type of conduct expected by employers and the need to develop a reputation for stability and diligence, improve school and job performance, and understand and participate more effectively in the labor market. A counselor as advocate can be helpful to a youth in trouble. Unstructured, sensitivity type sessions and non-employment oriented personal counseling have no measurable impact upon employability or work performance.

Job search skills can be effectively taught and, when accompanied by information on where to search are of great value to all youth, not just to the disadvantaged, though the latter have greater need because of their lack of access to the more

effective informal networks. The Employment Service is the most likely source of such training and information and should be funded and prepared to provide it in cooperation with the schools. Placement is the ultimate payoff and worthy of the highest priority and the most effective resources. In general, the Employment Service can offer the widest exposure of any single labor market intermediary. But that is no reason not to use a variety of other sources wherever and whenever they prove effective. Once the Employment Service raises its sights from the labor exchange function of matching job orders and applications to providing a breadth of labor market information from unemployment insurance files and other sources and teaching job seekers to use it, its role in the labor market should multiply.

Earlier chapters have provided more detail on the youth lessons from employment and training program experience, but these seem to be the high points.

However, improvement in past and current approaches is essentially a holding action, made acceptable by the imminence of decline in the total number of teenagers, especially white teenagers. To bring significant improvement in the transitional youth experience, separate from the impact of declining numbers, will require some fundamental changes in youth programs. What those changes should be cannot be derived totally from past experience. A look at the processes encompassing the successful is likely to be more productive than examining the experiences of those for whom a failure syndrome was almost an entrance requirement. Recommendations emanating from this study, beyond those for improvements in existing approaches, must be viewed as hypotheses drawn from observation of labor markets, either consistent with or not refuted by the program experience but also not drawn from it.

Employment success for youth requires:

(1) Employment opportunities, including
  (a) available jobs
  (b) employers willing to employ youth without unreasonable requirements

(2) Employable youth, with
  (a) motivation and favorable attitudes toward work
  (b) deportment and grooming acceptable to employers
  (c) ability and willingness to perform at entry level expectations

(3) Access of youth to jobs, in terms of
  (a) knowledge of job availability and access routes
  (b) required credentials
  (c) the "passwords" for the "gatekeepers"

Even where all of these are present, youth unemployment will stay high because of the realities of school to work transition and the processes of career exploration and work commitment, but may be reducable by organized career exploration. Since resources, including social energy are always limited, it would seem advisable to separate those youth most likely to achieve a reasonable career transition without special help from those most likely to fail. Not that the former cannot and should not be helped by general improvements such as the incorporation of career education principles into all schools and more ready availability of labor market information and career counseling. But this review is performed within the context of the Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act of 1977, which views youth unemployment as an emergency situation and implies special help to those most in need.

In that context, the policymaker might well ignore the in-school youth in schools not singled out as eligible for compensatory education assistance under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. While there will be youth from poor families in any high school who may need the added income from a part-time job, they will be few and within the standard resources of CETA, WIN, and local school programs. The job needs of youth do not generally far outstrip the supply of part-time jobs in such localities and working role models and peer support is present. It is in poverty-impacted central cities and deprived rural areas that the employment needs of in-school youth is the greatest as is also the need for special efforts to improve the schools and keep them enrolled.

Though, as noted, NLS data shows that, on the average, those who suffer the most unemployment as youth are more likely to continue that pattern as adults, the data is not refined enough to determine for whom among all youth that is true. High school graduate youth suffer only one-half the unemployment of high school dropouts the same age. That suggests both dropout prevention programs and special help for dropouts.

It is a familiar principle that whatever proves good for the disadvantaged, the advantaged will have already discovered and taken advantage of. Career education activities including career exploration linkages with employers appear to be growing in those schools in between the deprived and those where the great majority of students go to college. Children of the managerial and professional class are most likely to have informal access to jobs whenever they want them. Those informal access routes are less open to the children of technical, clerical, sales, craft, and operative workers but they are still substantial. Work experience and public service employment have little of lasting worth to offer such youth. Such programs may be appropriate as a countercyclical tool when all unemployment is high, competition is stiff and youth are at the end of a long line of the unemployed. At all other times, it would seem

wise to concentrate on career exploration and career decision-making activities followed by the teaching of job search techniques and placement efforts to assist such youth to find their way into regular private and public employment at the entry level. For such youth also, "dead end" jobs are no threat. They can move from these to other and better jobs as they desire and opportunity presents itself. No job is really a dead end as long as alternatives are within reach.

Once again, it is in the central city and the isolated rural area that the job supply is perpetually deficient. Even in most central cities, it is likely that a detailed establishment survey would turn up high numbers of jobs fillable by youth with standard basic education and appropriate deportment. These tend to be filled by commuters and middle-aged women as well as the better prepared of central city youth. The competitiveness of youth in these settings should be enhanced, but there are not enough jobs to go around providing arguments for public job creation, economic development and relocation. This and the rural setting would appear to be the only place that work experience programs have much to offer youth. And even here it should be enriched to provide something more than mere rudimentary activity and income. Public service jobs are as useful as any other kind of job as long as they are not stigmatized and as long as productivity is required. It is just that they are more justified in the central city and rural setting because of the lack of alternatives. The results of promised experimentation in YEDPA with wage subsidies in private employment should be eagerly awaited to test its potential. Most youth will find their early employment in small scale industry. Word of mouth and personal judgment is important in such settings. Whether gained in public or private employment, a reputation and documentation for diligence, stability, and productivity is a useful ticket to further jobs.

The use of the military, the Job Corps, the Youth Adult Conservation Corps or any other means of getting youth out of the central city and exposed to other settings and life styles is implied. However, Job Corps and YACC suffer from the segregation tendencies cited in earlier chapters. Decentralization in public housing and mixed background programs such as the Youth Conservation Corps, along with the military or some form of general public service corps would seem more promising for relocation.

Employability is first and foremost a function of attitudes, habits, deportment, and general intellectual and manipulative skills, much more than specific occupational skills. Because of the variety of means for skill preparation, there can be no firm boundaries between the realms of on-the-job and classroom preparation. However, examination of job content suggests that about one-third of jobs are "doable" by anyone with the equivalent of a standard high school education and reasonable manual dexterity. Another approximately one-third require some

on-the-job but no preentry training and the remainder require some formal preentry training. A major mistake of all past training programs has been over-concentration on occupations that are really in the first category, just because they were available and training was cheap. Any meaningful institutional program must pursue the occupations in the third category, with on-the-job training fitting into the second group.

Despite all of the arguments about the meaningfulness of education, it remains true for whatever reason that the best insurance against unemployment is to remain in school. All of these facts argue strongly for improvement in the meaningfulness of schools, a career education orientation, and early exposure to the kinds of conduct employers demand. The Career Intern Program described in Chapter 5 seems to be a sound model including reduced school size and student-staff ratios as well as linkages with employers. Many of these elements are also found in cooperative education. Vocational education is useful for those who have access to job opportunities already going for them. But in the central city or the rural area, it may not have a great deal of promise without some direct tie to a job or relocation or both upon completion.

All job creation and employability development for youth can founder unless access to regular jobs becomes available at some point in the system before discouragement sets in. That means that job search should be a skill as universally taught as reading. It means that, to the extent it is a barrier, the minimum wage should be removed, lowered or superseded by a job guarantee at least in the deprived areas noted. It requires that equal employment opportunity requirements be enforced. It also requires negotiation with unions, professional associations, public personnel administrators and other labor market intermediaries to assure special attention to new entrants to the labor market.

In detailed and programmatic terms, this review argues for:

(1) Worrying less about the general levels of youth unemployment than about the structure of unemployment within that level.

(2) For those of high school age, largely ignoring all but the dropout and the dropout prone.

(3) Providing public service employment and enriched work experience to youth only in areas of persistently high unemployment and poverty, except in the context of countercyclical policy.

(4) Assuring that such jobs are as realistic as possible in terms of their work environment and productivity requirements, that youth are enabled to gain and document reputation for diligence and workmanship, and that work is more rewarding than income maintenance or crime.

(5) Encouraging career education, including career exploration, career decision making and job search skills for all youth everywhere.

(6) Specifying such programs along with drop-out preventing enrichment and direct employer involvement in central cities, but not limiting them to the disadvantaged in segregated programs, even in those areas.

(7) Recognizing the supported work program as a possible exception to the prohibition against segregated programs but studying it carefully to determine whether the high rate of removal for cause or other special factors account for this marked departure from past program experience.

(8) Removing all possible legal barriers to employment of youth except those clearly required for health and safety and negotiating with labor market intermediaries for special assistance to youth.

(9) Relying on general expansion of job opportunities rather than restrictions on youth employment to reduce job competition between youth and adults. New entrants will always be at such disadvantage as to not pose serious competition to adults.

(10) Remembering that the number of white youth will shortly be experiencing decline, but it is minority and central city youth who will need continued and augmented assistance.

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★U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1978—261-017:57